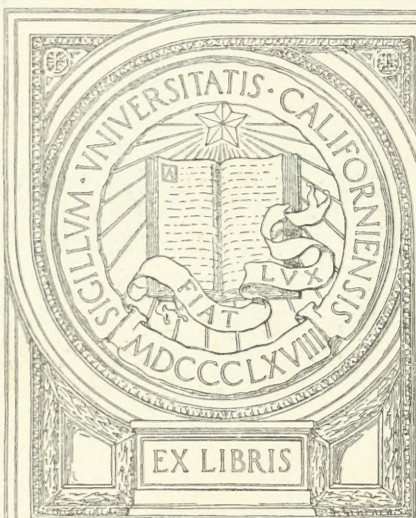




UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
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THE
FATHERS
OF THE
ENGLISH CHURCH;
OR,
A Selection
FROM THE
WRITINGS OF THE REFORMERS
AND
EARLY PROTESTANT DIVINES,
OF THE
CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

VOL. IV.
CONTAINING
VARIOUS TRACTS AND EXTRACTS
FROM THE WORKS OF

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JOHN CLEMENT, &c.
JOHN PHILPOT,
JOHN ROGERS,
WILLIAM TURNER.

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1809.

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THE
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IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOLUME I.
NICHOLAS DE BURGHE,
JOHN CALVIN, &c.
JOHN CROMWELL,
JOHN HENRY,
WILLIAM BROWNE.

S. GOSNELL, Printer, Little Queen Street, London.

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TO
HIS MOST GRACIOUS MAJESTY
GEORGE III.
OF THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND
KING,

DEFENDER OF THE FAITH, &c. &c.

TO THE MOST REVEREND

THE ARCHBISHOPS;

THE RIGHT REVEREND

THE BISHOPS;

AND THE REVEREND

THE CLERGY,

OF THE UNITED CHURCH OF ENGLAND AND IRELAND;

THIS WORK,

INTENDED AS A MONUMENT

TO THE HONOUR OF

THOSE HOLY MARTYRS, VENERABLE CONFESSORS,

AND EARLY PROTESTANT DIVINES,

TO WHOM, UNDER GOD,

THE REFORMED CHURCH OF CHRIST IN THESE REALMS

OWES ITS

RISE, PROGRESS,

AND SUBSEQUENT ESTABLISHMENT,

IS,

WITH GREAT RESPECT,

DEDICATED,

AND SUBMITTED TO THEIR PATRONAGE,

BY

THE EDITORS.

417879

TO THE PUBLIC.

It may justly be considered as a favourable sign of the present times, that the writings of the early Protestant Divines are in so great request. Patronage and encouragement have been afforded to several undertakings, which are connected with the republication of the remains of our forefathers; and there is ground to hope that much substantial and permanent good will be the result.

The Conductors of “The Fathers of the English Church” have much satisfaction in laying the Fourth Volume of this publication before their readers. The interesting and important materials of which it consists will prove a very valuable addition to the stock of Protestant antiquity which the former volumes have presented to the public.

Bishop Ridley and Archdeacon Philpot were generally esteemed to be the most learned of the English Reformers. The present volume contains nearly every thing that remains of their writings.

The Confession of Faith signed by the principal Reformers in prison, and that afterwards drawn up by

John Clement, are well known as important declarations of the sentiments of the great body of the professors of Protestant doctrine during the reign of Queen Mary. The Editors deemed it proper to add to them the other Confessions of Faith which accompany them in this place, as together forming a constellation of testimonies to the faith and patience of the heroic martyrs of that period.

The Rev. John Rogers, Prebendary of St. Paul's, and lecturer in divinity in that cathedral, led the van in the English army of martyrs. The little that remains concerning him, and was written by him, will be found in this volume.

The Tract on "The Old Learning and the New," by Dean Turner, is well calculated to give a succinct statement of the controversy between the Protestants and the Papists. It comprehends in a small compass the substance of many volumes of polemical divinity. His publications were much circulated and read during the reign of Edward VI.

The Conductors believe it to be of the last importance that Protestants should at this particular juncture be well informed as to the ground of their forefathers' separation from the church of Rome. The present publication will be found to give the most complete view of the whole of that cause, that has ever been offered to the modern reader. Ample

materials will be here found for information on every essential point of variance between the respective parties. "The Fathers of the English Church" will prove a work of standing reference for all that are engaged in those inquiries.

With respect to the selection and arrangement of the materials of which these volumes are composed, so far as they regard the differences of opinion which exist as to the interpretation of the doctrinal articles of the church of England, the Conductors can confidently appeal to every candid reader who has made researches into Protestant antiquity, whether strict fidelity and impartiality have not been observed. They have invariably persevered in their originally avowed intention, that "this selection should not be so compiled and arranged as to favour the particular views of any description of systematists and controversialists whatsoever, either within or without the pale of the established church." They have much higher views than those of serving the purposes of party-spirit and opinion. They aim at forming a body of Protestant divinity of the first and most unexceptionable authority, consisting of nearly all that is worthy of preservation, or that can contribute to enlighten and edify, from the remaining writings of the Fathers of the English Reformation.

Many proofs of the real utility which has attended the publication of the former volumes, have already

been communicated to the Editors. They have the satisfaction of knowing that one distinguished Prelate has not only recommended, but actually circulated them throughout his diocese. Several others continue to express in their letters to the Editors marked testimonies of approbation. Many of the clergy have declared their decided opinion of the importance and usefulness of the undertaking, while many of the laity, both in the higher and lower classes of society, have read the publication with considerable profit, and expressed their sense of it in clear and unequivocal terms.

The Fifth Volume will contain Selections from the works of Bishop Hooper.

In the present and future volumes will be found many valuable *Epistles* of the Reformers; on this account it has been thought right to add to *this* prefatory address, *that* which the venerable Bishop Coverdale prefixed to his volume of “Certain most godly, fruitful, and comfortable Letters of such true Saints and holy Martyrs of God as in the late bloody Persecution here within this Realm gave their Lives for the Defence of Christ’s holy Gospel, written in the time of their Affliction and cruel Imprisonment. Imprinted 1564.”

MILES COVERDALE *unto the Christian Reader most heartily wisheth the continual increase of heavenly taste and spiritual sweetness, in the same assured Salvation which cometh only through Jesus Christ.*

THE more nigh that men's words and works approach unto the most wholesome sayings and fruitful doings of the old ancient saints and chosen children of God (which love not only to hear his word, but also to live thereafter), the more worthy are they to be esteemed, embraced, and followed. And therefore as we hear and read of many godly, both men and women, whose conversation in old time was beautified with singular gifts of the Holy Ghost (according as the Apostle describeth them in the eleventh to the Hebrews), so have we just cause to rejoyce, that we have been familiar and acquainted with some of those, which walked in the trade of their footsteps. For the which cause, it doth us good to read and hear, not the lying legends of feigned, false, counterfeited, and Popish canonized saints, neither the trifling toys and forged fables of corrupted writers; but such true, holy, and approved histories, monuments, orations, epistles, and letters, as do set forth unto us the blessed behaviour of God's dear servants. It doth us good (I say) by such comfortable remembrance, conceived by their notable writings, to be conversant with them, at the least in spirit.

St. Hierome, writing to one Nitia, and having occasion to speak of letters and epistles, maketh mention of a certain author named Turpilius, whose words (saith he) are these : “ A letter or epistle is the thing alone that maketh men present which are absent. For among those that are absent, what is so present, as to hear and talk with those whom thou lovest ? ” Also that noble clerk Erasmus, of Rotterdam, commending the book of the epistles or letters which St. Austin did write, saith thus : “ By some of Augustin’s *books* we may perceive, what manner of man he was, being an infant in Christ. By other some, we may know what manner of one he was, being a young man, and what he was being an old man. But by this only book (meaning the book of the *Epistles, and Letters*) thou shalt know whole Augustin altogether.”

And why doth St. Hierome or Erasmus say thus ? No doubt even because that in such writings, as in a clear glass, we may see and behold, not only what plentiful furniture and store of heavenly grace, wisdom, knowledge, understanding, faith, love, hope, zeal, patience, meekness, obedience, with the worthy fruits thereof, Almighty God had bestowed upon the same his most dear children : but also what a fatherly care he ever had unto them : how his mighty hand defended them : how his providence kept watch and ward over them : how his loving eye looked unto

them: how his gracious ear heard their prayers: how he was always mindful of them, never forgot them, never failed them, nor forsook them: how the arms of his mercy were stretched out to embrace them, whensoever they faithfully turned unto him: how valiant also and strong in spirit, how joyful under the cross, how quiet and cheerful in trouble he made them: what victory of their enemies, what deliverance out of bonds and captivity, what health from sickness, what recovery from plagues, what plenty from scarceness: to be short, what help at all need and necessity he gave and bestowed upon them.

By such-like monuments also and writings, it is manifest and plain, how the same dear children of God in their time behaved themselves, as well towards him as also towards their friends and foes: yea, what the very thoughts of their hearts were, when they prayed (as their manner was incessantly to do), when they confessed their sins, and complained unto God: when they gave thanks: when they were persecuted and troubled: when they were by the hand of God visited: when they felt, not only the horror of death, the grief of sin, and the burden of God's displeasure by reason of the same: but also the sweet taste of his great mercy and eternal comfort through Jesus Christ, in their conscience. Of the which things, like as we may evidently perceive rich and plentiful experience in the heavenly treasury of that most excellent book which we commonly call Da-

vid's Psalter ; so hath not God now in our days left himself without witness. Yea, no more, than he did in other ages before us : but of his abundant goodness, even when the late persecution was most cruel, and the enemies' rage most extreme, he hath raised up such zealous men and women as (by the wonderful operation of his holy Spirit) of weak were made so valiant and strong in him (as well against all idolatry, superstition, false doctrine, and corrupted religion, as against their own old blemishes and sins), that they have turned to flight, and confounded the whole rabble of such malicious Papists, as were the persecutors and murderers of them.

Whereby they that list not still to be blind, may plainly behold and see, not only the terrible judgments of God over and against the wicked, but also his wonderful doings mixed with mercy in and towards his chosen : unto whom, as unto them that love him, he causeth all things to work for the best. So that with him, by the heavenly light of stedfast faith, they see life even in death : with him, even in heaviness and sorrow, they fail not of joy and comfort : with him even in poverty, affliction, and trouble, they neither perish nor are forsaken. How else could they be so patient, so quiet of mind, so cheerful and merry in adversity and strait captivity : some being thrown into dungeons, ugly holes, dark, loathsome, and stinking corners : other some lying in fetters and chains, and loaden with so

many irons, that they could scarcely stir : some tied in the stocks with their heels upwards : some having their legs in the stocks and their necks chained to the wall with gorgets of iron : some both hands and legs in the stocks at once : sometimes both hands in, and both legs out : sometimes the right hand with the left leg, or the left hand with the right leg fastened in the stocks with manacles and fetters, having neither stool nor stone to sit on, to ease their woful bodies withal : some standing in most painful engines of iron with their bodies doubled : some whipped and scourged, beaten with rods, and buffeted with fists : some having their hands burned with a candle to try their patience, or force them to relent : some hunger-pined and most miserably famished.

All these torments and many more, even such as cruel Phalaris could not devise worse, were practised by the Papists, the stout sturdy soldiers of Satan, thus delighting in variety of tyranny and torments upon the saints of God, as it is full well and too well known, and as many can testify which are yet alive, and have felt some smart thereof.

Yea, and furthermore, so extremely were these dear servants of God dealt withal, that although they were most desirous by their pen and writings to edify their brethren, other poor lambs of Christ, and one to comfort another in him, yet were they so narrowly watched and straitly kept from all necessary helps, as

paper, ink, books, and such-like, that great marvel it is how they could be able to write any one of these or others so excellent and worthy letters. For so hardly were they used (as I said afore), for the most part they could not end their letters begun : sometime for lack of ease, being so fettered with chains, and otherwise handled as you have heard : sometime for lack of light, when they could neither see to write well, nor to read their letters again : and sometime through the hasty coming in of the keepers or officers, who left no corner nor bedstraw unsearched : yea, sometimes they were put to so hard shifts, that like as for lack of pens they were fain to write with the lead of the windows : so for want of ink they took their *own blood* (as yet it remaineth to be seen), and yet sometimes they were fain to tear and rend what they had written at the hasty coming in of the officers.

Thus, thus unkindly, thus churlishly, thus cruelly and unnaturally were even they entreated and handled, whose most notable and godly writings are here set forth in this book. For the which, and such other monuments, great cause have we to praise God : which he himself hath preserved and brought to light, no doubt by his singular great providence, that hereby we, being taught to have his might, mercy, and merciful working, the more in reverent and thankful regard, might not only consider what heavenly strength and rich possession of constant faith, of ardent zeal, of quiet patience, O peace and

joy in the Holy Ghost, he useth to arm them, that can find in their hearts to abhor all ungodliness both of doctrine and life : but also to join with them ourselves in such sort, that looking to Jesus our Captain, abiding the cross and despising the shame, as they did for the joy that was set before them, may with much quietness of a good conscience, end this our short course, to his glory, to the edifying of his church, to the confusion of Satan, to the hindrance of all false doctrine, and to our own eternal comfort in the same our Lord and alone Saviour Jesus Christ. To whom with the Father and Holy Ghost be all honour, all glory, all thanks, and all praise, world without end. Amen.

THE
L I F E
AND
SELECTIONS FROM THE WRITINGS
OF
DR. NICHOLAS RIDLEY,
Bishop and Martyr.

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OF THE

AN ACCOUNT of the LIFE and MARTYRDOM

OF

DR. NICHOLAS RIDLEY,

BISHOP OF LONDON,

Taken out of John Fox's Martyrology.

AMONG many other worthy and sundry histories and notable acts of such, as of late days have been turmoiled, murdered, and martyred for the true Gospel of Christ in Queen Mary's reign, the tragical story and life of Dr. Ridley, I thought good to commend, to chronicle, and leave to perpetual memory: beseeching thee, gentle reader, with care and study well to peruse, diligently to consider, and deeply to print the same in thy breast, seeing him to be a man beautified with such excellent qualities, so ghostly inspired and godly learned, and now written doubtless in the book of life, with the blessed saints of the Almighty, crowned and throned amongst the glorious company of martyrs.

First, descending of a stock right worshipful, he was born in Northumberlandshire, who being a child, learned his grammar with great dexterity in Newcastle, and was removed from thence to the university of Cambridge, where he in a short space became so famous, that for his singular aptness he was called to higher functions and offices of the university, by degrees attaining thereunto, and was called to be the head of Pembroke Hall, and there made doctor of divinity. After this, departing from thence, he travelled to Paris, and at his return was made chaplain to King Henry the Eighth, and promoted afterwards by him to the bishopric of Rochester: and so

from thence translated to the see and bishopric of London in King Edward's * days.

In which calling and offices he so travailed and occupied himself by preaching and teaching the true and wholesome doctrine of Christ, that never good child was more singularly loved of his dear parents, than he of his flock and diocese. Every holy day and Sunday he lightly preached in some one place or other, except he was otherwise letted by weighty affairs and business : to whose sermons the people resorted, swarming about him like bees, and coveting the sweet flowers and wholesome juice of the fruitful doctrine, which he did not only preach, but shewed the same by his life, as a glittering lantern to the eyes and senses of the blind, in such pure order and chastity of life (declining from evil desires and concupiscences), that even his very enemies could not reprove him in any one jot thereof.

Besides this, he was passingly well learned, his memory was great, and he of such reading withal,

* The following anecdote is found in Rolt's *Lives of the Reformers*, p. 170 : The King was under a visible decay, and Bishop Ridley preached before him towards the latter end of his sickness. The Bishop enlarged much in his sermon on the good effects of charity ; and the King was so moved with what he said, that immediately after the sermon he sent for the Bishop, whom he commanded to sit down and be covered. His Majesty resumed the heads of the discourse, and said his lordship must give some directions how he might acquit himself of his duty. The Bishop, astonished at so much tenderness and sensibility in so young a prince, burst forth into tears, but desired time to consider of the particular channel, in which the royal charity should be directed ; and that the King would give him leave to consult with the lord mayor and aldermen about it. His Majesty accordingly wrote them a letter by the Bishop, who returned to him with a scheme of three foundations ; one for the sick and wounded, another for such as were wilfully idle or mad, and a third for orphans : and His Majesty endowed St. Bartholomew's hospital for the first, Bridewell for the second, and the Grey Friars church for the third.

that of right he deserved to be comparable to the best of this our age, as can testify, as well divers his notable works, pithy sermons, and sundry his disputations in both the universities, as also his very adversaries, all which will say no less themselves.

Besides all this, wise he was of counsel, deep of wit, and very politic in all his doings. How merciful and careful he was to reduce the obstinate Papists from their erroneous opinions, and by gentleness to win them to the truth, his gentle ordering and courteous handling of Dr. Heath, late Archbishop of York, being prisoner with him in King Edward's time in the house one year, sufficiently declareth. In fine, he was such a prelate, and in all points so good, godly, and ghostly a man, that England may justly rue the loss of so worthy a treasure.

Now will I speak something further particularly of his person and conditions. He was a man right comely and well proportioned in all points, both in complexion and lineaments of the body. He took all things in good part, bearing no malice nor rancour in his heart, but straightways forgetting all injuries and offences done against him. He was very kind and natural to his kinsfolks, and yet not bearing with them any thing otherwise, than right would require, giving them always for a general rule (yea, to his own brother and sister), that they, doing evil, should seek or look for nothing at his hand, but should be as strangers and aliens unto him, and that they should be his brothers or sisters, which used honesty and a godly trade of life.

He used all kinds of ways to mortify himself, was given unto much prayer and contemplation: for duly every morning, so soon as his apparel was done upon him, he went forthwith to his bed-chamber, and there upon his knees prayed the space of half an hour; which being done, immediately he went

to his study (if there came no other business to interrupt him), where he continued till ten of the clock, and then came to common prayer, daily used in his house. The prayers being done, he went to dinner, where he used little talk, except otherwise occasion by some had been ministered, and then was it sober, discreet, and wise, and sometime merry, as cause required.

The dinner done, which was not very long, he used to sit an hour, or thereabouts, talking or playing at chess: that done, he returned to his study, and there would continue, except suitors or business abroad were occasion of the contrary, until five of the clock at night, and then would come to common prayer, as in the forenoon: which being finished, he went to supper, behaving himself there, as at his dinner before: after supper, he recreated himself in playing at chess the space of an hour, he would then return again to his study, continuing there till eleven of the clock at night, which was his common hour to go to bed, then saying his prayer upon his knees, as in the morning when he rose.

Being at his manor of Fulham, as divers times he used to be, he read daily a lecture to his family at the common prayer, beginning at the Acts of the Apostles, and so going throughout all the Epistles of St. Paul, giving to every man, that could read, a New Testament, hiring them besides with money to learn by heart certain principal chapters, but especially the 13th chapter of the Acts, reading also unto his household oftentimes the 101st Psalm, being marvellous careful over his family, that they might be a spectacle of all virtue and honesty to others. To be short, as he was godly and virtuous himself, so nothing but virtue and godliness reigned in his house, feeding them with the food of our Saviour, Jesus Christ.

Now remaineth a word or two to be declared of his gentle nature and kindly pity in the usage of an old woman, called Mistress Bonner, mother to Dr. Bonner, sometime Bishop of London: which I thought good to touch, as well for the rare clemency of Dr. Ridley, as the unworthy immanity and ingrateful disposition again of Dr. Bonner. Bishop Ridley being at his manor at Fulham, always sent for the said Mistress Bonner, dwelling in an house adjoining to his house, to dinner and supper, with one Mrs. Mungey, Bonner's sister, saying: "Go for my mother Bonner," who, coming, was ever placed in the chair at the table's end, being so gently entertained, well commended, and taken, as though he had been born of her own body, being never displaced of her seat, although the king's council had been present, saying, when any of them were there (as divers times they were), "By your lordships' favour, this place of right and custom is for my mother Bonner."

But how well he was recompensed for this his singular gentleness and pitiful pity after at the hands of the said Dr. Bonner, almost the least child that goeth by the ground can declare. For who afterwards was more enemy to Ridley than Bonner and his? Who more went abroad to seek his destruction than he? recompensing his gentleness with extreme cruelty. As well appeared by the strait handling of Ridley's own natural sister, and George Shipside, her husband, from time to time: whereas the gentleness of the other did suffer Bonner's mother, sister, and others his kindred, not only quietly to enjoy all that, which they had of Bonner, but also entertained them in his house, shewing much courtesy and friendship daily unto them: whereas on the other side, Bishop Bonner being restored again, would not suffer the brother and natural sister of

Bishop Ridley, and other his friends, not only not to enjoy that which they had by their said brother, Bishop Ridley, but also currishly, without all order, flaw, or honesty, by extort power wrested from them all the livings they had.

And yet, being not therewith satisfied, he sought all the means he could to work the death of the foresaid Shipside: saying, That he would make twelve godfathers to go upon him, which had been brought to pass in deed at what time he was prisoner at Oxford, had not God otherwise wrought his deliverance by means of Dr. Heath, Bishop then of Worcester.

Whereby all good indifferent readers notoriously have to understand, what great diversity was in the dispositions of those two natures. Whereof as the one excelled in mercy and pity, so the other again as much or more excelled in churlish ingratitude and despiteful disdain. But of this matter enough.

Now concerning God's vocation, how Dr. Ridley was first called to the savouring and favouring of Christ and his Gospel, partly by his disputation, and other his treatises it may appear, that the first occasion of his conversion was by reading of Bertram's book of the sacrament, whom also his conferences with Bishop Cranmer and with Peter Martyr did not a little confirm in that behalf. Who now by the grace of God, being thoroughly won and brought to the true way, as he was before blind and zealous in his old ignorance: so he was as constant and faithful in the right knowledge, which the Lord had opened unto him (as well appeared by his preachings and doings during all the time of King Edward), and so long did much good, while authority of exterior power might defend and hold up the peace of the church and proceedings of the Gospel.

But after that it pleased so the heavenly will of the

Lord our God to bereave us of our stay, and to call from us King Edward, that precious prince, as the whole state of the church of England was left desolate, and open to the enemies' hand : so this Bishop Ridley, after the coming in of Queen Mary, as soon and with the first was laid hands upon and committed to prison, first in the Tower, then after translated from thence, with the Archbishop of Canterbury and Master Latimer, to Oxford, was with them inclosed in the common gaol and prison of Bocardo, while at length, being dissevered from them, he was committed to custody in the house of one Irish, where he remained to the last day of his death and martyrdom, which was from the year of our Lord 1554 till the year 1555, and 16th day of October.

A full account of the disputations and examinations which he underwent is to be seen in Fox's Book of Martyrs. The following observations upon his treatment on these occasions was written by himself.

“ I never yet, since I was born, saw or heard any thing done or handled more vainly or tumultuously, than the disputation which was with me in the schools at Oxford ; yea, verily, I could never have thought that it had been possible to have found amongst men, recounted to be of knowledge and learning in this realm, any [so brazen-faced and shameless, so disorderly and vainly to behave themselves, more like to stage players in interludes to set forth a pageant, than to be grave divines in schools to dispute. The Sorbonical clamours (which at Paris I have seen in time past, when Popery most reigned) might be worthily thought (in comparison of this Thrasonical ostentation) to have had much modesty. And no great marvel, seeing they, which should have been mo-

derators and overseers of others, and should have given good example in words and gravity, they themselves above all others gave worst examples, and did (as it were) blow the trump to the rest, to rave, roar, rage, and cry out. By reason whereof (good Christian reader) manifestly it may appear, that they never sought for any truth or verity, but only for the glory of the world, and their own bragging victory.

“ But lest by the innumerable railings and reproachful taunts wherewith I was baited on every side, our cause, yea, rather God’s cause and his church’s, should be evil spoken of, and slandered to the world through false reports and untrue examples given out of our disputation, and so the verity might sustain some damage: I thought it no less than my duty to write mine answers: to the intent that whosoever is desirous to know the truth thereof, may by this perceive, as well those things which were chiefly objected, as summarily, that which was answered of me unto every of them. Howbeit (good reader) I confess this to be most true, that it is impossible to set forth either all that was (God knoweth) tumultuously and confusedly objected of their parts, being so many, speaking many times all together so thick, that one could not well hear another; or all that was answered in my behalf, to them so sundry and divers opponents.

“ Moreover, a great part of the time, appointed for the disputations, was vainly consumed in opprobrious checks and reviling taunts, with lissing and clapping of hands, and that in the English tongue to procure the people’s favour withal. All which things, when I with great grief of heart did behold, protesting openly, that such excessive and outrageous disorder was unseemly for those schools and men of learning and gravity, and that they which were the doers and stirrers of such things, did nothing else

but betray the slenderness of their cause, and their own vanities: I was so far off by this my humble complaint from doing any good at all, that I was enforced to hear such rebukes, checks, and taunts for my labour, as no person of any honesty without blushing could abide to hear the like spoken of a most vile varlet, against a most wretched ruffian.

“ At the first beginning of the disputation, when I should have confirmed mine answer to the first proposition in few words, and that (after the manner and law of schools) afore I could make an end of my first probation, which was not very long, even the doctors themselves cried out, ‘ He speaketh blasphemies, he speaketh blasphemies.’ And when I on my knees besought them, and that heartily, that they would vouchsafe to hear me to the end (whereat the prolocutor being moved, cried out on high, ‘ Let him read it, let him read it’); yet when I began to read again, there followed immediately such shouting, such a noise and tumult, and confusion of voices, crying, ‘ Blasphemies, blasphemies,’ as I to my remembrance never heard or read the like: except it be that one, which was in the Acts of the Apostles, stirred up of Demetrius, the silversmith, and others of his occupation, crying out against Paul, ‘ Great is Diana of the Ephesians, great is ‘ Diana of the Ephesians;’ and except it be a certain disputation which the Arians had against the orthodox, and such as were of godly judgment in Africa, where it is said, ‘ That such as the president and ‘ rulers of the disputation were, such was the end of ‘ the disputations. All were in a hurly burly, and so ‘ great were the slanders which the Arians cast out, ‘ that nothing could quietly be heard.’ This writeth Victor in the second book of his history.

“ The which cries and tumults of them against me so prevailed, that willed I, nilled I, I was en-

forced to leave off the reading of my probations, although they were short. If any man doubt of the truth hereof, let the same ask any one that was there, and not utterly perverted in Popery, and I am assured he will say, I speak the least. But to complain of these things further, I will cease."

And further, speaking of this disputation, he concludeth with these words: "And thus was ended this most glorious disputation of the most holy fathers, sacrifices, doctors, and masters which fought most manfully (as ye may see) for their god and goods, for their faith and felicity, for their country and kitchen, for their beauty and belly, with triumphant applause and favour of the whole university."

After the disputation of Master Latimer was ended, which was the 18th day of April, the Friday following, which was the 20th day of the said month, the commissioners sat in St. Mary's church, as they did the Saturday before, and Dr. Weston used particular dissuasions with every of them, and would not suffer them to answer in any wise, but directly and peremptorily (as his words were) to say whether they would subscribe or no.

And first to the Bishop of Canterbury he said, he was overcome in disputations: whom the Bishop answered, that whereas Dr. Weston said, he had answered and opposed, and could neither maintain his own errors, nor impugn the verity, all that he said was false. For he was not suffered to oppose as he would, nor could answer as he was required, unless he would have brangled with them, so thick their reasons came one after another. Ever four or five did interrupt him, that he could not speak.

M. Ridley and M. Latimer were asked, what they would do: they said, they would stand to that they had said. Then were they all called together, and sentence read over them, that they were no members of the church. And therefore they, their favourers

and patrons, were condemned as heretics: and in reading of it, they were asked whether they would turn or no, and they bade them read on in the name of God, for they were not minded to turn. So were they condemned all three.

After which, sentence of condemnation being awarded against them, they answered again every one in their turn, in manner and effect of words, as followeth, the Archbishop first beginning thus.

The Archbishop of Canterbury.

From this your judgment and sentence, I appeal to the just judgment of God Almighty, trusting to be present with him in heaven, for whose presence in the altar, I am thus condemned.

Dr. Ridley.

Although I be not of your company, yet doubt not I but my name is written in another place, whither this sentence will send us sooner, than we should by the course of nature have come.

Master Latimer.

I thank God most heartily, that he hath prolonged my life to this end, that I may in this case glorify God by that kind of death.

Doctor Weston's Answer unto Latimer.

If you go to heaven in this faith, then I will never come thither, as I am thus persuaded.

After the sentence pronounced, they were separated one from another, viz.* the Archbishop was

* The following additional paper was written by Bishop Ridley at this time, and is taken from Bishop Coverdale's *Epistles of the Martyrs*, ed. 1564.

Know, gentle reader, that Master Prolocutor did promise me in the disputations publicly, that I should see mine answers, how they were collected and gathered of the notaries, and that I should have license to add or diminish, to alter or change after-

returned to Bocardo, Dr. Ridley was carried to the Sheriff's house, Master Latimer to the Bailiff's.

ward, as I should think best would make for me to the answering of the propositions. He promised moreover publicly, that I should have both time and place for me to bring in frankly all that I could for the confirmations of mine answers.

Now, when he had promised all these things openly in the hearing of other commissioners and of the whole university of Oxford, yet, good reader, mark this, that in very deed he performed nothing of all this he promised. What faith then shall a man look to find at such judges' hands in the secret mysteries of God, which in their promises so openly made, and so justly due (I will not speak of the witnesses of the matter), are found to be so faithless both to God and man? Well, I will leave it to the judgment of the wise.

And now for that is left for us to do, let us pray that God would have mercy on his church of England, that yet once, when it shall be his good pleasure, it may clearly see and greedily embrace, in the face of Jesus Christ, the will of the heavenly Father; and that of his infinite mercy, he would either turn to him the raging and ravening wolves, and most subtle seducers of his people, which are by them altogether spoiled and bewitched: or, that of his most righteous judgment, he would drive these faithless feeders from his flock, that they may no more be able to trouble and scatter abroad Christ's sheep from their shephard, and that speedily: Amen, Amen. And let every one that hath the spirit, as St. John saith, say, Amen.

Yet further know thou, that when Master Prolocutor did put forth three propositions, he did command us to answer particularly to them all. After our answers, neither he, nor his fellows, did ever enter into any disputations of any one of them, saving only of the first. Yea, when that he had asked us after disputations of the first, as ye have heard for my part, whether we would subscribe to the whole, in such sort, form and words, as there are set forth, without further disputation, which thing we denied, by and by he gave sentence against us all: that is, against me, Dr. Crommer, and Dr. Latimer, my most dear fathers and brethren in Christ, condemning us for heinous heretics concerning every one of these propositions.

And so he separated us one from another, sending us severally into sundry and divers houses, to be kept most secretly to the day of our burning, and as before so still commanded that all and every one of our servants should be kept from us; whereto he added, that at his departure thence, pen, ink, and paper should depart from us also. But thanks be to God that gave me

On Saturday following, they had a mass with a general procession and great solemnity. Dr. Cranmer was caused to behold the procession out of Bocardo, Dr. Ridley out of the Sheriff's house. Latimer also being brought to see it, from the Bailiff's house, thought that he should have gone to burning, and spake to one Augustin Cooper, a catchpole, to make a quick fire. But when he came to Carfax, and saw the matter, he ran as fast as his old bones would carry him, to one Spenser's shop, and would not look towards it. Last of all, Dr. Weston carried the sacrament, and four doctors carried the canopy over him.

In the mean season upon the 15th day in the morning, and the same year abovesaid, the Bishop of Gloucester, Dr. Brook, and the Vice-chancellor of Oxford, Dr. Marshal, with divers others of the chief and heads of the same university, and many other more accompanying them, came unto Master Irish his house, then Mayor of Oxford, where Dr. Ridley, late Bishop of London, was close prisoner. And when the Bishop of Gloucester came unto the chamber where the said Dr. Ridley did lie, he told him for what purpose their coming was unto him, saying, that yet once again the Queen's Majesty did offer unto him by them, her gracious mercy, if that he would receive the same, and come home again to the faith, which he was baptized in, and revoke his erroneous doctrine that he of late had taught abroad

to write this, before the use of such things were utterly taken away.

Almighty God, which beholdeth the causes of the afflicted, and is wont to loose and look mercifully on the bonds and groanings of the captives, vouchsafe now to look upon the causes of his poor church in England, and of his great wisdom, and unspeakable mercy, with speed to make an end of our misery. Amen, Amen, Amen. (Page 112.)

to the destruction of many. And further said, that if he would not recant, and become one of the Catholic church with them, then they must needs (against their wills) proceed according to the law; which they would be very loath to do, if they might otherwise. But, saith he, "We have been oftentimes with you, and have requested that you would recant this your fantastical and devilish opinion, where hitherto you have not, although you might in so doing win many, and do much good. Therefore, good Master Ridley, consider with yourself the danger, that shall ensue both of body and soul, if that you shall so wilfully cast yourself away in refusing mercy offered unto you at this time."

"My Lord," quoth Dr. Ridley, "you know my mind fully herein: and as for the doctrine, which I have taught, my conscience assureth me, that it was sound and according to God's word (to his glory be it spoken); the which doctrine, the Lord God being my helper, I will maintain so long as my tongue shall wag, and breath is within my body, and in confirmation thereof, seal the same with my blood."

Brook. Well, you were best, Master Ridley, not to do so, but to become one of the church with us. For you know this well enough, that whosoever is out of the Catholic church, cannot be saved: therefore, I say once again, that whilst you have time and mercy offered you, receive it, and confess with us the Pope's Holiness to be the chief head of the same church.

Ridley. I marvel, that you will trouble me with any such vain and foolish talk. You know my mind concerning the usurped authority of the Romish antichrist. As I confessed openly in the schools, so do I now, that both by my behaviour and talk I do no obedience at all unto the Bishop of Rome,

not to his usurped authority, and that for divers good and godly considerations.

And here Dr. Ridley would have reasoned with the said Brook, Bishop of Gloucester, of the Bishop of Rome's authority, but could not be suffered, and yet he spake so earnestly against the Pope therein, that the Bishop told him, if he would not hold his peace, he should be compelled against his will. "And seeing," saith he, "that you will not receive the Queen's mercy, now offered unto you, but stubbornly refuse the same, we must, against our wills, proceed, according to our commission, to degrading, taking from you the dignity of priesthood. For we take you for no Bishop, and therefore we will the sooner have done with you: so committing you to the secular power, you know what doth follow."

Ridley. Do with me, as it shall please God to suffer you; I am well content to abide the same with all my heart.

Brook. Put off your cap, Master Ridley, and put upon you this surplice.

Ridley. Not I truly.

Brook. But you must.

Ridley. I will not.

Brook. You must therefore make no more ado, but put this surplice upon you.

Ridley. Truly, if it come upon me, it shall be against my will.

Brook. Will you not do it upon you?

Ridley. No, that I will not.

Brook. It shall be put upon you by one or other.

Ridley. Do therein, as it pleaseth you; I am well contented with that, and more than that: the servant is not above his master. If they dealt so cruelly with our Saviour Christ, as the Scripture maketh mention, and he suffered the same patiently, how much more doth it become us his servants?

And in saying of these words they put on the said Dr. Ridley the surplice, with all the trinkets appertaining to the mass: and as they were putting on the same, Dr. Ridley did vehemently inveigh against the Romish Bishop and all that foolish apparel, calling him antichrist, and the apparel foolish and abominable, yea, too fond for a vice* in a play, insomuch that Brook was exceeding angry with him, and bade him hold his peace, for he did but rail. Dr. Ridley answered again, and said, so long as his tongue and breath would suffer him, he would speak against their abominable doings, whatsoever happened unto him for so doing.

Brook. Well, you were best to hold your peace, lest your mouth be stopped.

At which words one Edridge, the reader then of the Greek lecture, standing by, said to Dr. Brook, "Sir, the law is, he should be gagged, therefore let him be gagged." At which words Dr. Ridley looking earnestly upon him that so said, wagged his head at him, and made no answer again, but with a sigh said, "Oh, well, well, well."

So they proceeded in their doings, yet nevertheless Dr. Ridley was ever talking things not pleasant to their ears, although one or other bade him hold his peace, lest he should be caused against his will.

When, as they came to that place where Dr. Ridley should hold the chalice and the wafer cake (called the singing bread), they bade him hold the same in his hand. And Dr. Ridley said, "They shall not come in my hands, for if they do, they shall fall to the ground for all me." Then there was one appointed to hold them in his hand, while Bishop Brook read a certain thing in Latin, touching

* A jester.

the degradation of spiritual persons, according to the Pope's law.

Afterwards they put a book in his hand, and withal read (as it is before said) a certain thing in Latin, the effect thereof was, "We do take from you the office of preaching the gospel, &c." At which words, Dr. Ridley gave a great sigh, looking up towards heaven, saying, "O Lord God, forgive them for this their wickedness."

And as they put upon him the mass gear, so they began with the uppermost garment, in taking it away again, reading a thing in Latin, according to the order contained in the said book of the Pope's law. Now when all was taken from him, saving only the surplice left on his back, as they were reading and taking it away, Dr. Ridley said unto them: "Lord God, what power be you of, that you can take from a man that which he never had? I was never singer in all my life, and yet you will take from me, that which I never had."

So when all this, their abominable and ridiculous degradation was ended very solemnly, Dr. Ridley said unto Dr. Brook, "Have you done? If you have done, then give me leave to talk with you a little concerning these matters." Brook answered and said: "Master Ridley, we may not talk with you, you be out of the church, and our law is, that we may not talk with any that be out of the church." Then Master Ridley said: "Seeing that you will not suffer me to talk, neither will vouchsafe to hear me, what remedy, but patience? I refer my cause to my heavenly Father, who will reform things that be amiss, when it shall please him."

At which words they would have been gone, but that Master Ridley said: "My Lord, I would wish that your Lordship would vouchsafe to read over and peruse a little book of Bertram's doing concerning

the sacrament; I promise you, you shall find much good learning therein, if you will read the same with an indifferent judgment." Dr. Brook made no answer to this, but would have been gone away. Then Master Ridley said: "Oh, I perceive, that you cannot away with this manner of talk. Well, it boots not, I will say no more, I will speak of worldly affairs. I pray you therefore, my Lord, hear me, and be a mean to the Queen's Majesty, in the behalf of a great many poor men, and especially for my poor sister and her husband, which stand there. They had a poor living granted unto them by me, whilst I was in the See of London, and the same is taken away from them, by him that now occupieth the same room, without all law or conscience.

"Here I have a supplication to the Queen's Majesty in their behalf. You shall hear the same read, so shall you perceive the matter the better." Then he read the same, and when he came to the place in the supplication, that touched his sister by name, then he wept, so that for a little space he could not speak for weeping. After that he had left off weeping, he said: "This is nature that moveth me. But I have now done:" and with that read out the rest, and delivered the same to his brother, commanding him to put it up to the Queen's Majesty, and to sue, not only for himself, but also for such as had any leases or grants by him, and were put from the same by Dr. Bonner, then Bishop of London; whereunto Brook said: "Indeed, Master Ridley, your request in this supplication is very lawful and honest: therefore I must needs in conscience speak to the Queen's Majesty for them."

Ridley. I pray you, for God's sake, do so.

Brook. I think your request will be granted, except one thing let it, and that is (I fear) because

you do not allow the Queen's proceedings, but obstinately withstand the same, that it will hardly be granted.

Ridley. What remedy? I can do no more, but speak and write: I trust I have discharged my conscience therein, and God's will be done.

Brook. I will do what lieth in me.

This degradation being past, and all things finished, Dr. Brook called the bailiffs, delivering to them Master Ridley with this charge, to keep him safely from any man speaking with him, and that he should be brought to the place of execution, when they were commanded. Then Master Ridley in praising God burst out with these words, and said: "God, I thank thee, and to thy praise be it spoken, there is none of you all able to lay to my charge any open or notorious crime: for if you could, it should be surely laid in my lap, I see very well." Whereunto Brook said, he played the part of a proud pharisee, exalting and praising himself.

But Master Ridley said: "No, no, no, as I have said before, to God's glory be it spoken. I confess myself to be a miserable wretched sinner, and have great need of God's help and mercy, and do daily call and cry for the same: therefore, I pray you, have no such opinion of me." Then they departed, and in going away, a certain warden of a college, of whose name I am not very sure, bade Dr. Ridley repent him, and forsake that erroneous opinion. Whereunto Dr. Ridley said: "Sir, repent you, for you are out of the truth: and I pray God (if it be his blessed will) have mercy upon you, and grant you the understanding of his word." Then the warden, being in a chafe thereat, said: "I trust, that I shall never be of your erroneous and devilish opinion, neither yet to be in that place whither you

shall go. He is," saith he, "the most obstinate and wilfullest man that I ever heard talk since I was born."

The night before he suffered, his beard was washed, and his legs; and as he sat at supper the same night at Mr. Irish's (who was his keeper), he bade his hostess and the rest at the board to his marriage: for, saith he, "To-morrow I shall be married:" and so shewed himself to be as merry as ever he was at any time before. And wishing his sister at his marriage, he asked his brother sitting at the table, whether she could find in her heart to be there or no; and he answered, "Yea, I dare say, with all her heart:" at which word he said, he was glad to hear of her so much therein. So at this talk Mrs. Irish wept.

But Dr. Ridley comforted her, and said: "Oh, Mrs. Irish, you love me not now, I see, well enough. For in that you weep, it doth appear, you will not be at my marriage, neither are content therewith. Indeed you be not so much my friend as I thought you had been: but quiet yourself; though my breakfast shall be somewhat sharp and painful, yet I am sure, my supper shall be more pleasant and sweet, &c."

When they arose from the table, his brother offered him to watch all night with him. But he said, "No, no, that you shall not. For I mind (God willing) to go to bed, and to sleep as quietly to-night as ever I did in my life." So his brother departed, exhorting him to be of good cheer, and to take his cross quietly, for the reward was great.

The reader is here referred to the Second Volume of "The Fathers of the English Church," at page 412, for the account of the death of the Bishops La-

timer and Ridley. The following particulars concerning Dr. Ridley are added, as stated by John Fox.

Then they brought a fagot, kindled with fire, and laid the same down at Dr. Ridley's feet. To whom Master Latimer spake in this manner: "Be of good comfort, Master Ridley, and play the man. We shall this day light such a candle by God's grace in England, as, I trust, shall never be put out."

And so the fire being given unto them, when Dr. Ridley saw the fire flaming towards him, he cried out with a wonderful loud voice: "Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit; Lord, receive my spirit." And after repeating this latter part often: "Lord, Lord, receive my spirit:" Master Latimer crying as vehement on the other side: "O, Father of heaven, receive my soul:" who received the flame as it were embracing of it. After, as he had stroked his face with his hands, and (as it were) bathed them in the fire, he soon died (as it appeared) with very little pain or none.

But Master Ridley, by reason of the evil making of the fire unto him, because the wooden fagots were laid about the gorse and over high built, the fire burned first beneath, being kept down by the wood. Which when he felt, he desired them for Christ's sake to let the fire come unto him, which when his brother-in-law heard, but not well understood, intending to rid him out of his pain (for the which cause he gave attendance) as one in such sorrow, not well advised what he did, heaped fagots upon him, so that he clean covered him, which made the fire more vehement beneath, that it burned clean all his nether parts, before it once touched the upper. And that made him leap up and down under the fagots, and often desired them to let the fire

come unto him, saying, "I cannot burn." Which indeed appeared well: for after his legs were consumed by reason of his struggling through pain (whereof he had no release, but only his contentation in God), he shewed that side towards us clean, shirt and all, untouched with flame. Yet in all this torment he forgot not to call upon God still, having in his mouth: "Lord, have mercy upon me:" intermingling this cry, "Let the fire come unto me, I cannot burn." In which pains he laboured, till one of the standers-by with his bill pulled off the fagots above, and where he saw the fire flame up, he wrested himself unto that side. And when the flame touched the gunpowder, he was seen stir no more, but burned on the other side, falling down at Master Latimer's feet: which some said happened, by reason that the chain loosed: others said, that he fell over the chain by reason of the poise of his body, and the weakness of his nether limbs.

Some said, that, before he was like to fall from the stake, he desired them to hold him to it with their bills. Howsoever it was, surely it moved hundreds to tears, in beholding the horrible sight. For I think there was none, that had not clean exiled all humanity and mercy, which would not have lamented to behold the fury of the fire so to rage upon their bodies.

Signs of sorrow there were on every side. Some took it grievously to see their deaths, whose lives they held full dear. Some pitied their persons, that thought their souls had no need thereof. His brother moved many men, seeing his miserable case: seeing (I say) him compelled to such infelicity: that he thought then to do him best service, when he hastened his end. Some cried out of the luck, to see his endeavour, who most dearly loved him, and sought his release, turn to his greater vexation and

increase of pain. But whoso considered their preferments in time past, the places of honour that they sometimes occupied in this commonwealth, the favour they were in with their princes, and the opinion of learning they had, could not choose but sorrow with tears, to see so great dignity, honour, and estimation, so necessary members sometime accounted, so many godly virtues, the study of so many years, such excellent learning, to be put into the fire, and consumed in one moment.

Well, dead they are, and the reward of this world they have already. What reward remaineth for them in heaven, the day of the Lord's glory, when he cometh with his saints, shall shortly, I trust, declare *.

* The following observation is taken from Rolt's *Lives of the Reformers*, at page 172: Ridley's fine parts, and his great improvements in all the branches of literature necessary to a divine, gave him the first rank in his profession; and his life was answerable to his knowledge. He was of an easy obliging temper; and though he wanted not a proper spirit to support his character, or to do himself justice against the great and powerful; yet he was always ready to forgive any injuries or offences. His zeal for religion did not shew itself in promoting severities against those who differed from it, but in diligently explaining the parts that were misunderstood, and shewing their foundation in Scripture and antiquity. The greatness of his mind was not only shewn in the candour and charity of his sentiments; he did good offices for those who differed from him; he was a great benefactor to the poor; he expended his revenue in a way becoming a Bishop; he maintained and treated Heath, the deprived Bishop of Worcester, for a year and a half, in the same splendour, as though Fulham House had been his own; and Bonner's mother, who merited nothing on her own account, dined always there at the table with him, whilst her son was in the Tower. The Reformation was greatly indebted to his zeal and learning while he lived, as well to his courage and constancy at his death: for of all who served the altar of the Church of England, he bore, perhaps, the most useful testimony, both in life and death, to her doctrine.

The following particulars concerning the life of Bishop Ridley are chronologically arranged from his life, published by the Rev. Dr. Gloucester Ridley, A. D. 1763.

About the year 1502, he was born at Wilmonswick, in Northumberland.

Until 1518, he was educated at Newcastle upon Tyne, when he was sent to Pembroke Hall, in the university of Cambridge, where he made great progress in the Greek and Latin tongues.

In 1522, he took the degree of Bachelor in Arts.

1524. He was invited by the Master and Fellows of University College, in Oxford, to accept an exhibition in their college, which he declined.

In this year he was elected Fellow of Pembroke Hall.

1525. He took his Master of Arts degree.

1526. He was appointed agent by the college in some parochial causes belonging to Pembroke Hall.

1528. He went to Paris and Louvain, in order to prosecute his studies.

1530. He was appointed junior treasurer of his college.

1533. He was chosen senior Proctor of the university. During his proctorate the university discussions took place concerning the supremacy of the Pope, which were determined in the negative, and signed in the name of the university by the Vice Chancellor and Proctors.

1534. He took his degree of Bachelor in Divinity, and was chosen public orator to the university.

1537. Archbishop Cranmer made him one of his domestic chaplains, and had constant in-

tercourse with him in reading and doctrine.

In 1538. He was collated to the vicarage of Herne, in East Kent, by the Archbishop.

1539. He opposed the famous Act of the Six Articles from the pulpit.

1540. He took his degree of Doctor in Divinity, and was elected Master of Pembroke Hall, in Cambridge.

In this year he was appointed chaplain to King Henry VIII.

1541. He was made, by Archbishop Cranmer, a Prebendary in the cathedral of Canterbury.

1543. He was involved in some difficulties for a time through the machinations of the Papists.

1545. He renounced the error of transubstantiation, through the reading of Bertram's book on that subject, and communicated his sentiments to Cranmer, who was thereby converted to his opinion also.

In this year Ridley was made a Prebendary of Westminster.

1547. He was by King Edward VI. made Bishop of Rochester.

1548. He was actively engaged with the other Reformers in drawing up the book of Common Prayer.

1549. He was actively engaged as a Commissioner for the abolishing of Popery in the university of Cambridge.

1550. He was translated to the bishopric of London.

1553. He was by Queen Mary committed to the Tower.

In 1554. Ridley, Cranmer, and Latimer were sent to Oxford to hold public disputations with the Papists.

1555. Ridley was brought to the stake and burnt as a heretic by the Papists.

A

FAREWELL TO ALL HIS FRIENDS,

Written a little Time before he suffered,

BY

NICHOLAS RIDLEY.

A
TREATISE OR LETTER
OF
BISHOP RIDLEY,

Which he wrote at his last Farewell to all his true and faithful Friends in God a little before he suffered: with a sharp Admonition, by the way, to the Papists, the Enemies of Truth.

AT the name of Jesus, let every knee bow, both of things in heaven and things in earth, and things under the earth, and let every tongue confess, that Jesus Christ is the Lord, unto the glory of God the Father. Amen.

As a man, minding to take a far journey, and to depart from his familiar friends, commonly and naturally hath a desire to bid his friends farewell before his departure: so likewise, now I, looking daily when I should be called for to depart hence from you (O! all ye, my dearly beloved brethren and sisters in our Saviour Christ, that dwell here in this world), having a like mind towards you all, and also blessed be God for this such time and leisure whereof right heartily I thank his heavenly goodness: do bid you all, my dear brethren and sisters (I say) in Christ, that dwell upon the earth, after such manner as I can, farewell.

Farewell, my dear brother George Shippside: whom I have ever found faithful, trusty, and loving in all states and conditions, and now in the time of my cross, over all others to me most friendly and stedfast, and that which liked me best, over all other things in God's cause ever hearty.

Farewell, my dear sister Alice, his wife: I am glad to hear of thee, that thou dost take Christ's cross, which is laid now (blessed be God) both on thy back and mine, in good part. Thank thou God, who hath given thee a godly and loving husband: see thou honour him, and obey him according to God's law. Honour thy mother-in-law, his mother, and love all those that pertain unto him, being ready to do them good, as it shall lie in thy power. As for thy children, I doubt not of thy husband, but that he, which hath given him a heart to love and fear God, and in God them that pertain unto him, shall also make him friendly and beneficial unto thy children, even as if they had been gotten of his own body.

Farewell, my well-beloved brother, John Ridley, of the Waltown, and you, my gentle and loving sister Elizabeth: whom, besides the natural league of amity, your tender love, which you were said ever to bear towards me above the rest of your brethren, doth bind me to love. My mind was to have acknowledged this your loving affection, and to have acquitted it with deeds, and not with words alone. Your daughter Elizabeth I bid farewell, whom I love for the meek and gentle spirit that God hath given her, which is a precious thing in the sight of God.

Farewell, my beloved sister, of Unthanke, with all your children, my nephews and nieces. Since the departure of my brother Hugh, my mind was to have been unto them in the stead of their father: but the Lord God must and will be their father, if they will love him, and fear him, and live in the trade of his law.

Farewell, my well-beloved and worshipful cousins, Master Nicholas Ridley of Wyllimountswick and your wife; and I thank you for all your kindness

shewed both to me, and also to all your own kinsfolk and mine. Good cousin, as God hath set you in that our stock and kindred, not for any respect of your person, but of his abundant grace and goodness, to be, as it were, the belwether, to order and conduct the rest, and hath also endued you with his manifold gifts of grace, both heavenly and worldly, above others: so I pray you, good cousin (as my trust and hope is in you), continue and increase in the maintenance of truth, honesty, righteousness, and all true godliness, and to the uttermost of your power, to withstand falsehood, untruth, unrighteousness, and all ungodliness, which is forbid and condemned by the word and laws of God.

Farewell, my young cousin Ralph Whitfield: oh! your time was very short with me: my mind was to have done you good, and yet you caught in that little time a loss; but I trust, it shall be recompensed as it shall please Almighty God.

Farewell, all my whole kindred and countrymen, farewell in Christ altogether. The Lord, which is the searcher of secrets, knoweth that according to my heart's desire, my hope was of late, that I should have come among you, and to have brought with me abundance of Christ's blessed gospel, according to the duty of that office and ministry, whereunto among you I was chosen, named, and appointed, by the mouth of that our late puissant prince, King Edward, and so also denounced openly in his court by his privy council.

I warn you all, my well-beloved kinsfolk and countrymen, that ye be not amazed or astonished at the kind of my departure or dissolution: for I ensure you, I think it the most honour that ever I was called unto in all my life. And therefore I thank my Lord God heartily for it, that it hath

pleased him to call me of his great mercy unto this high honour, to suffer death willingly for his sake and in his cause: unto the which honour he called the holy prophets (and his dearly beloved apostles and his blessed chosen martyrs). For know ye, that I doubt no more, but that the causes, wherefore I am put to death, are God's causes and the causes of the truth, than I doubt that the gospel which John wrote is the gospel of Christ, or that Paul's epistles are the very word of God.

And to have a heart willing to abide and stand in God's cause and in Christ's quarrel even unto death, I ensure thee, O! man, it is an inestimable and an honourable gift of God, given only to the true elect and dearly beloved children of God, and inheritors of the kingdom of heaven. For the holy Apostle, and also martyr in Christ's cause, St. Peter saith, "If ye suffer rebuke in the name of Christ (that is, in Christ's cause and for his truth's sake), then are ye happy and blessed: for the glory of the spirit of God resteth upon you." If for rebuke sake, suffered in Christ's name, a man is pronounced by the mouth of that holy Apostle, blessed and happy; how much more happy and blessed is he, that hath the grace to suffer death also. Wherefore, all ye, that be my true lovers and friends, rejoice, and rejoice with me again, and render with me hearty thanks to God, our heavenly Father, that for his Son's sake, my Saviour and Redeemer Christ, he hath vouchsafed to call me, being else, without his gracious goodness, in myself, but a sinful and vile wretch; to call me, I say, unto this high dignity of his true prophets, of his faithful apostles, and of his holy elect and chosen martyrs, that is, to die and to spend this temporal life in the defence and maintenance of his eternal and everlasting truth.

Ye know, that be my countrymen dwelling upon

the borders, where (alas!) the true man suffereth oftentimes much wrong at the thieves hand, if it chance a man to be slain of a thief (as it oft chanceth there) which went out with his neighbour to help him to rescue his goods again, that the more cruelly he be slain, and the more stedfastly he stuck by his neighbour in the fight against the face of the thief, the more favour and friendship shall all his posterity have for the slain man's sake, of all them that be true, as long as the memory of this fact and his posterity doth endure. Even so, ye, that be my kinsfolk and countrymen, know ye, howsoever the blind, ignorant, and wicked world hereafter shall rail upon my death, which thing they cannot do worse than their fathers did of the death of Christ, our Saviour, of his holy prophets, apostles, and martyrs; know ye, I say, that both before God, and all them, that be godly, and that truly know and follow the laws of God, ye have and shall have, by God's grace, ever cause to rejoyce, and to thank God highly, and to think good of it, and in God to rejoyce of me, your flesh and blood, whom God of his gracious goodness, hath vouchsafed to associate unto the blessed company of his holy martyrs in heaven. And I doubt not in the infinite goodness of my Lord God, nor in the faithful fellowship of his elect and chosen people, but at both their hands in my cause, ye shall rather find the more favour and grace. For the Lord saith, that he will be both to them and theirs that love him the more loving again in a thousand generations. The Lord is so full of mercy to them, I say, and theirs, which do love him indeed. And Christ saith again, that "no man can shew more love, than to give his life for his friend."

Now also, know ye, all my true lovers in God, my kinsfolk and countrymen, that the cause, where-

fore I am put to death, is even after the same sort and condition, but touching more near God's cause and in more weighty matters, but in the general kind all one: for both is God's cause, both is in the maintenance of right, and both for the common wealth, and both for the weal also of the Christian brother: although yet there is in these two no small difference, both concerning the enemies, the goods stolen, and the manner of the fight.

For, know ye all, that like as there, when the poor true man is robbed by the thief of his own goods truly gotten, whereupon he and his household should live, he is greatly wronged, and the thief, in stealing and robbing with violence the poor man's goods, doth offend God, doth transgress his laws, and is injurious both to the poor man and to the commonwealth: so, I say, know ye all, that even here, in the cause of my death, it is with the church of England, I mean the congregation of the true chosen children of God in this realm of England, which I acknowledge not only to be my neighbours, but rather the congregations of my spiritual brethren and sisters in Christ; yea members of one body, wherein by God's grace I am and have been grafted in Christ.

This church of England had of late, of the infinite goodness and abundant grace of Almighty God, great substance, great riches of heavenly treasure, great plenty of God's true and sincere word, the true and wholesome administration of Christ's holy sacraments, the whole profession of Christ's religion, truly and plainly set forth in baptism, the plain declaration and understanding of the same, taught in the holy catechism, to have been learned of all true Christians.

This church had also a true and sincere form and manner of the Lord's Supper, wherein, according to

Jesus Christ's own ordinance and institution, Christ's commandments were executed and done. For upon the bread and wine set upon the Lord's table, thanks were given; the commemoration of the Lord's death was had; the bread in the remembrance of Christ's body torn upon the cross, was broken; and the cup in the remembrance of Christ's blood shed was distributed; and both communicated unto all, that were present, and would receive them, and also they were exhorted of the minister so to do.

All was done openly in the vulgar tongue, so that every thing might be most easily heard and plainly understood of all the people, to God's high glory, and the edification of the whole church.

This church had of late the whole divine service, all common and public prayers ordained to be said and heard in the common congregation, not only framed and fashioned to the true vein of holy Scripture, but also all things to set forth, according to the commandment of the Lord and St. Paul's doctrine for the people's edification in their vulgar tongue.

It had also holy and wholesome homilies in commendation of the principal virtues which are commended in Scripture, and likewise other homilies against the most pernicious and capital vices, which use (alas!) to reign in this realm of England.

This church had, in matters of controversy, articles so penned and framed after the holy Scripture, and grounded upon the true understanding of God's word, that in short time, if they had been universally received, they should have been able to have set in Christ's church, much concord and unity in Christ's true religion, and to have expelled many false errors and heresies, wherewith this church (alas!) was almost overgrown.

But (alas !) of late into this spiritual possession of the heavenly treasure of these godly riches, are entered in thieves, that have robbed and spoiled all this heavenly treasure away. I may well complain on these thieves, and cry out upon them with the prophet, saying: (Psalm 79) “ O Lord God, the gentiles, heathen nations, are come into thy heritage, they have defiled thy holy temple, and made Jerusalem an heap of stones:” that is, they have broken and beat down to the ground, thy holy city. This heathenish generation, these thieves of Samaria, these Sabæans and Chaldeans, these robbers have rushed out of their dens, and have robbed the church of England of all the foresaid holy treasure of God. They have carried it away, and overthrown it, and in the stead of God’s holy word, the true and right administration of Christ’s holy sacraments, as of baptism and others, they mixed their ministry with men’s foolish fantasies, and many wicked and ungodly traditions withal.

In the stead of the Lord’s holy table, they give the people, with much solemn disguising, a thing which they call their mass ; but indeed and in truth it is a very masking and mockery of the true supper of the Lord: or rather I may call it a crafty juggling, whereby these false thieves and jugglers have bewitched the minds of the simple people, that they have brought them from the true worship of God, unto pernicious idolatry, and make them to believe that to be Christ, our Lord and Saviour, which indeed is neither God nor man, nor hath any life in itself, but in substance is the creature of bread and wine, and in use of the Lord’s table is the sacrament of Christ’s body and blood. And for this holy use, for the which the Lord hath ordained them in his table, to represent unto us his blessed body torn upon the cross for us, and his blood there

shed, it pleased him to call them his body and blood, which understanding Christ declareth to be his true meaning, when he sayeth: "Do this in remembrance of me." And again St. Paul likewise doth set out the same more plainly, speaking of the same sacrament, after the words of the consecration, saying: "As often as ye shall eat of this bread, and drink of this cup, ye shall set forth (he meaneth with the same) the Lord's death until his coming again." And here again these thieves have robbed also the people of the Lord's cup, contrary to the plain words of Christ written in his gospel.

Now for the common public prayers, which were in the vulgar tongue, these thieves have brought in again a strange tongue, whereof the people understand not one word. Wherein what do they else, but rob the people of their divine service, wherein they ought to pray together with the minister? And to pray in a strange tongue, what is it but (as St. Paul calleth it) barbarousness, childishness, unprofitable folly, yea, and plain madness?

For the godly articles of unity in religion, and for the wholesome homilies, what do these thieves place in the stead of them, but the Pope's laws and decrees, lying legends, feigned fables and miracles, to delude and abuse the simplicity of the rude people? Thus this robbery and theft is not only committed, nay, sacrilege and wicked spoil of heavenly things, but also in the stead of the same, is brought in and placed the abominable desolation of the tyrants Antiochus, of proud Sennacherib, of the shameless-faced king, and of the Babylonical beast. Unto this robbery, this theft and sacrilege, for that I cannot consent, nor (God willing) ever shall, so long as the breath is in my body, because it is blasphemy against God, high treason unto Christ, our heavenly King, Lord, Master, and our only Saviour and Redeemer:-

it is plain contrary to God's word and to Christ's Gospel: it is the subversion of all true godliness, and against the everlasting salvation of mine own soul, and of all my brethren and sisters whom Christ my Saviour hath so dearly bought with no less price, than with the effusion and shedding forth of his most precious blood. Therefore, all ye, my true lovers in God, my kinsfolk and countrymen, for this cause (I say) know ye, that I am put to death, which by God's grace I shall willingly take, with hearty thanks to God therefore, in certain hope, without any doubting, to receive at God's hand again, of his free mercy and grace, everlasting life.

Although the cause of the true man, slain of the thief helping his neighbour to recover his goods again, and the cause, wherefore I am to be put to death, in a generality is both one, as I said before, yet, know ye, that there is no small difference. These thieves, against whom I do stand, are much worse than the robbers and thieves of the borders. The goods which they steal are much more precious; and their kinds of fight are far divers. These thieves are worse, I say; for they are more cruel, more wicked, more false, more deceitful, and crafty; for those will but kill the body, but these will not stick to kill both body and soul. Those for the general theft and robbery be called, and are indeed thieves and robbers, but these for their spiritual kind of robbery are called *sacrilegi*, as ye would say, church robbers. They are more wicked, for those go about but to spoil men of worldly things, worldly riches, gold and silver, and worldly substance: these go about in the ways of the devil, their ghostly father, to steal from the universal church, and particularly from every man, all heavenly treasure, true faith, true charity, and hope of salvation in the blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ: yea, to spoil us of our

Saviour Christ, of his Gospel, of his heavenly Spirit, and of the heavenly heritage of the kingdom of heaven, so dearly purchased unto us with the death of our Master and Saviour Christ.

These be the goods and godly substance, where-upon the Christian before God must live, and without the which he cannot live; these goods, I say, these thieves, these church robbers go about to spoil us of. The which goods, as to the man of God, they excel and far pass all worldly treasure: so to withstand even unto the death such thieves, as go about to spoil both us and the whole church of such goods, is most high and honourable service done unto God.

These church robbers be also much more false, crafty, and deceitful, than the thieves upon the borders: for these have not the craft so to commend their theft, that they dare avouch it, and therefore as acknowledging themselves to be evil, they steal commonly upon the night; they dare not appear at judgments and sessions, where justice is executed; and when they are taken and brought thither, they never hang any man, but they be oft-times hanged for their faults. But these church robbers can so cloak and colour their spiritual robbery, that they can make the people to believe falsehood to be truth, and truth falsehood; good to be evil, and evil good; light to be darkness, and darkness light; superstition to be true religion, and idolatry to be the true worship of God; and that, which is in substance the creature of bread and wine, to be none other substance but only the substance of Christ, the living Lord, both God and man. And with this their falsehood and craft, they can so juggle and bewitch the understanding of the simple, that they dare avouch it openly in court and in town, and fear neither hanging, nor beheading, as the poor thieves of the bor-

ders do, but stout and strong like Nimrod, dare condemn to be burned in flaming fire, quick and alive, whosoever will go about to betray their falsehood.

The kind of fight against these church robbers is also of another sort and kind, than is that, which is against the thieves of the borders. For there the true men go forth against them with spear and lance, with bow and bill, and all such kind of bodily weapons, as the true men have ; but here, as the enemies be of another nature, so the watchmen of Christ's flock, the warriors, that fight in the Lord's war, must be armed, and fight with another kind of weapons and armour. For here the enemies of God, the soldiers of antichrist, although the battle is set forth against the church by mortal men, being flesh and blood, and nevertheless members of their father the devil : yet, for that their grand master is the power of darkness, their members are spiritual wickedness, wicked spirits, spirits of errors, of heresies, of all deceit and ungodliness ; spirits of idolatry, superstition. and hypocrisy, which are called by St. Paul principalities and powers, lords of the world, rulers of the darkness of this world, and spiritual subtilties concerning heavenly things : therefore our weapons must be fit and meet to fight against such : not carnal nor bodily weapons, as spear and lance, but spiritual and heavenly. We must fight against such with the armour of God, not intending to kill their bodies, but their errors, their false craft and heresies, their idolatry, superstition, and hypocrisy, and to save as much as lieth in us both their bodies and souls.

And therefore, as St. Paul teacheth us, we fight not against flesh and blood, that is, we fight not with bodily weapons to kill the man, but with the weapons of God to put to flight his wicked errors and vice, and to save both body and soul. Our weapons

therefore are faith, hope, charity, righteousness, truth, patience, prayer unto God; and our sword, wherewith we smite our enemies, beat and batter and bear down all falsehood, is the word of God. With these weapons, under the banner of the cross of Christ, we do fight, ever having our eye upon our grand Master, Duke, and Captain, Christ, and then we reckon ourselves to triumph, and to win the crown of everlasting bliss: when enduring in this battle without any shrinking or yielding to the enemies, after the example of our grand Captain, Christ, our Master, after the example of his holy prophets, apostles, and martyrs: when, I say, we are slain in our mortal bodies of our enemies, and are most cruelly and without all mercy murdered down like a many of sheep; and the more cruel, the more painful, the more vile and spiteful is the kind of death, whereunto we be put, the more glorious in God, the more blessed and happy we reckon, without all doubt, our martyrdom to be.

And thus much, dear lovers and friends in God, my countrymen and kinsfolk, I have spoken for your comfort, lest of my death, of whose life you looked peradventure sometimes to have had honesty, pleasures, and commodities, ye might be abashed or think any evil: whereas ye have rather cause to rejoice, if ye love me indeed, for that it hath pleased God to call me to a greater honour and dignity, than ever I did enjoy before either in Rochester or in the see of London, or ever should have had in the see of Durham, whereunto I was last of all elected and named: yea, I count it greater honour before God indeed to die in his cause (whereof I nothing doubt) than is any earthly or temporal promotion or honour, that can be given to a man in this world.

And who is he, that knoweth the cause to be God's, to be Christ's quarrel, and of his Gospel, to

be the common weal of all his elect and chosen children of God, of all the inheritors of the kingdom of heaven: who is he, I say, that knoweth this assuredly by God's word, and the testimony of his own conscience, as I, through the infinite goodness of God, not of myself, but by his grace, acknowledge myself to do: who is he, I say, that knoweth this, and both loveth and feareth God; indeed and in truth, loveth and believeth his master, Christ, and his blessed Gospel, loveth his brotherhood, the chosen children of God, and also lusteth and longeth for everlasting life—who is he, I say again, that would not or cannot find in his heart in this cause to be content to die?

The Lord forbid, that any such should be, that should forsake this grace of God. I trust in my Lord God, the God of mercies and the father of all comfort, through Jesus Christ our Lord, that he, which hath put this mind, will, and affection by his holy spirit in my heart, to stand against the face of the enemy in his cause, and to choose rather the loss of all my worldly substance, yea, and of my life too, than to deny his own truth: that he will comfort me, aid me, and strengthen me evermore even unto the end, and to the yielding up of my spirit and soul into his holy hands, whereof I most heartily beseech his most holy sacred Majesty, of his infinite goodness and mercy, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Now that I have taken my leave of my countrymen and kinsfolk, and the Lord doth lend me life and giveth me leisure, I will bid my other good friends in God, of other places also, farewell. And whom first or before others, than the university of Cambridge, where I have dwelt longer, found more faithful and hearty friends, received more benefits (the benefits of my natural parents only excepted),

than ever I did even in mine own native country, wherein I was born.

Farewell, therefore, Cambridge, my loving mother and tender nurse. If I should not acknowledge thy manifold benefits, yea, if I should not for thy benefits at the least love thee again, truly I were to be counted ungrate and unkind. What benefits hast thou ever, that thou usest to give and bestow upon thy best beloved children, that thou thoughtest too good for me? Thou didst bestow on me all thy school degrees: of thy common offices, the chaplainship of the university, the office of proctorship, and of a common reader: and of thy private commodities and emoluments in colleges, what was it that thou madest me not partner in? First, to be scholar, then fellow, and, after my departure from thee, thou calledst me again to a mastership of a right worshipful college. I thank thee, my loving mother, for all this thy kindness, and I pray God, that his laws and the sincere Gospel of Christ may ever be truly taught and faithfully learned in thee.

Farewell, Pembroke Hall, of late mine own college, my cure, and my charge: what case thou art in now, God knoweth; I know not well. Thou wast ever named since I knew thee (which is now thirty years ago) to be studious, well learned, and a great setter forth of Christ's Gospel and of God's true word. So I found thee, and, blessed be God, so I left thee indeed: woe is me for thee, mine own dear college, if ever thou suffer thyself by any means to be brought from that trade. In thy orchards* (the walls, butts, and trees, if they could speak, would bear me witness) I learned, without books, almost all Paul's Epistles, yea, and, I ween, all the

* There is a walk in the garden of Pembroke college still distinguished by the name of Ridley's Walk. Ed.

canonical Epistles, save only the Apocalypse. Of which study, although in time a great part did depart from me, yet the sweet smell thereof I trust I shall carry with me into heaven: for the profit thereof I think I have felt in all my lifetime ever after, and, I ween, of late, whether they abide there now or no, I cannot tell, there were that did the like. The Lord grant that this zeal and love toward that part of God's word, which is a key and true commentary to all holy Scriptures, may ever abide in that college so long as the world shall endure.

From Cambridge I was called into Kent by the Archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Cranmer, that most reverend father and man of God, and of him by and by sent to be vicar of Herne in East Kent: wherefore, farewell, Herne, thou worshipful and wealthy parish, the first cure whereunto I was called to minister in God's word. Thou hast heard of my mouth oft-times the word of God preached, not after the popish trade, but after Christ's gospel: oh, that the fruit had answered to the seed! and yet I must acknowledge me to be thy debtor for the doctrine of the Lord's supper, which at that time, I acknowledge, God had not revealed unto me: but I bless God in all that godly virtue and zeal of God's word, which the Lord by preaching of his word did kindle manifestly, both in the heart and in the life and works of that godly woman there, my Lady Fiennes. The Lord grant, that his word took like effect there in many other more.

Farewell, thou cathedral church of Canterbury, the metropolitane see, whereof once I was a member. To speak things pleasant unto thee I dare not, for danger of conscience and displeasure of my Lord God: and to say what lieth in my heart, were now too much, and I fear were able to do thee now but little good. Nevertheless, for the friendship I have

found in some there; and for charity sake, I wish thee to be washed clean of all worldliness and ungodliness; that thou mayest be found of God after thy name, Christ's church, in deed and in truth.

Farewell, Rochester, sometime my cathedral-see, in whom (to say the truth) I did find much gentleness and obedience: and I trust thou wilt not say the contrary, but I did use it to God's glory and thine own profit in God—oh, that thou hadst and mightest have continued and gone forward in the trade of God's law, wherein I did leave thee! then thy charge and burden should not have been so terrible and dangerous, as I suppose verily it is like to be (alas!) on the latter day.

To Westminster, other advertisement in God I have not now to say, than I have said before to the cathedral church of Canterbury: and so God give thee of his grace, that thou mayest learn in deed and in truth to please him after his own laws, and thus fare you well.

Oh! London, London, to whom now may I speak in thee, or whom shall I bid farewell? Shall I speak to the Prebendaries of St. Paul's? Alas! all, that loved God's word and were true setters forth thereof, are now, as I hear say, some burnt and slain, some exiled and banished, and some holden in hard prison, and appointed daily to be put to most cruel death for Christ's gospel sake. As for the rest of them, I know they could never brook me well, nor I could ever delight in them.

Shall I speak to the see thereof, wherein of late I was placed almost and not fully by the space of three years? But what may I say to it, being (as I hear say I am) deposed and expelled by judgment, as an unjust usurper of that room. Oh! judgment, judgment, can this be just judgment, to condemn the chief minister of God's word, the pastor and

bishop of the diocese, and never bring him into judgment, that he might have heard what crimes were laid to his charge, nor ever suffer him to have any place or time to answer for himself? Thinkest thou, that hereafter, when true justice shall have place, this judgment can ever be allowed, either of God or of man? Well, as for the cause and whole matter of my deposition and the spoil of my goods which thou possessest yet, I refer it unto God, which is a just judge, and I beseech God, if it be his pleasure, that that, which is but my personal wrong, be not laid to thy charge in the latter day: this only I can pray for.

O! thou now wicked and bloody see: why dost thou set up again many altars of idolatry, which by the word of God were justly taken away? why hast thou overthrown the Lord's table? why dost thou daily delude the people, masking in thy masses in the stead of the Lord's holy supper, which ought to be common as well, saith Chrysostom, yea the Lord himself, to the people as to the priest? how darest thou deny to the people of Christ, contrary to his express commandment in the gospel, his holy cross?

Why babblest thou to the people the common prayer in a strange tongue, wherein St. Paul commandeth in the Lord's name that no man shall speak before the congregation, except it should be by and by declared in their common tongue, that all might be edified? nay, hearken, thou whorish bawd of Babylon, thou wicked limb of antichrist, thou bloody wolf, why slayest thou down and makest harock of the prophets of God? why murderest thou so cruelly Christ's poor silly sheep, which will not hear thy voice, because thou art a stranger, and will follow none other but their own pastor Christ his voice?

Thinkest thou to escape, or that the Lord will not require the blood of his saints at thy hands? Thy god, which is the work of thy hands, and whom thou sayest thou hast power to make, that thy deaf and dumb god, I say, will not, indeed, nor cannot (although thou art not ashamed to call him thy Maker), make thee to escape the revenging hand of the high and almighty God. But be thou assured, that the living Lord, our Saviour and Redeemer, which sitteth on the right hand of his Father in glory; he seeth all thy wicked ways and cruelty done to his dear members, and he will not forget his holy ones, and his hands shalt thou never escape. Instead of my farewell to thee, now I say, Fye upon thee, fye upon thee, filthy drab, and all thy false prophets!

Yet, O thou London, I may not leave thee thus. Although my episcopal see, now being joined in league with the seat of Satan, thus hath now both handled me and the saints of God; yet I do not doubt, but in that great city there be many privy mourners, which do daily mourn for that mischief, the which never did nor shall consent to that wickedness, but do detest and abhor it as the ways of Satan. But these privy mourners here I will pass by, and bid them farewell with their fellows hereafter, when the place and occasion shall more conveniently require.

Among the worshipful of the city, and specially which were in office of the mayoralty, yea and in other citizens also (whom to name now it shall not be necessary), in the time of my ministry, which was from the later parts of Sir Rowland Hill's year unto Sir George Barnes's year, and a great part thereof, I do acknowledge that I found no small humanity and gentleness, as me thought. But to say the truth; that I do esteem above all other for true

Christian kindness, which is shewed in God's cause, and done for his sake. Wherefore, O! Dobbes, Dobbes, alderman and knight, thou in thy year didst win my heart for evermore, for that honourable act, that most blessed work of God, of the erection and setting up of Christ's holy hospitals and truly religious houses, which by thee and through thee were begun.

For thou, like a man of God, when the matter was moved for the relief of Christ's poor silly members, to be holpen from extreme misery, hunger, and famine; thy heart, I say, was moved with pity, and, as Christ's high honourable officer in that cause, thou calledst together thy brethren, the aldermen of the city, before whom thou breakedst the matter for the poor. Thou didst plead their cause, yea, and not only in thine own person thou didst set forth Christ's cause, but, to further the matter, thou broughtest me into the council-chamber of the city before the aldermen alone, whom thou hadst assembled there together, to hear me speak what I could say as an advocate, by office and duty, in the poor man's cause. The Lord wrought with thee, and gave thee the consent of thy brethren, whereby the matter was brought to the common-council, and so to the whole body of the city; by whom, with an uniform consent, it was committed to be drawn, ordered, and devised, by a certain number of the most witty and politic citizens, endued also with godliness and with ready hearts to set forward such a noble act, as could be chosen in all the whole city: and they, like true and faithful ministers, both to their city and their master, Christ, so ordered, devised, and brought forth the matter, that thousands of silly poor members of Christ, which else for extreme hunger and misery should have famished and perished, shall be relieved, holpen, and brought up,

and shall have cause to bless the aldermen of that time, the common-council, and the whole body of the city ; but specially thee, O ! Dobbes, and those chosen men, by whom this honourable work of God was begun and wrought ; and that so long, throughout all ages, as that godly work shall endure, which I pray Almighty God may be ever unto the world's end. Amen.

And thou, O ! Sir George Barnes (the truth it is to be confessed to God's glory, and to the good example of others), thou wast in thy year not only a furtherer and continuer of that, which before thee by thy predecessor was well begun ; but also didst labour so to have perfected thy work, that it should have been an absolute thing and a perfect spectacle of true charity and godliness unto all Christendom. Thine endeavour was to have set up an house of occupation, both that all kind of poverty, being able to work, should not have lacked whereupon profitably they might have been occupied, to their own relief, and to the profit and commodity of the commonwealth of the city : and also to have retired thither the poor babes brought up in the hospitals, when they had come to a certain age and strength : and also all those which in the hospitals aforesaid have been cured of their diseases. And to have brought this to pass thou obtainedst, not without great diligence and labour, both of thee and thy brethren, of that godly King Edward, that Christian and peerless Prince's hand, his princely place of Bridewell. And what other things, to the performance of the same, and under what condition, it is not unknown. That this, thine endeavour, hath not had like success, the fault is not in thee, but in the condition and state of the time, which the Lord of his infinite mercy vouchsafe to amend, when it shall be his gracious will and pleasure.

Farewell now, all ye citizens, that be of God, of what state and condition soever ye be: undoubtedly in London ye have heard God's word truly preached. My heart's desire and daily prayer shall be for you, as for whom, for my time I know to my Lord God I am accountable, that ye never swerve, neither for loss of life nor worldly goods, from God's holy word, and yield unto antichrist; whereupon must needs follow the extreme displeasure of God, and the loss, both of your bodies and souls, into perpetual damnation, for evermore.

Now that I have gone through the places, where I have dwelt any space in the time of my pilgrimage here upon earth; remembering that for the space of King Edward's reign, which was for the time of mine office in the sees of London and Rochester, I was a member of the higher house of the Parliament: therefore, seeing my God hath given me leisure and the remembrance thereof, I will bid my Lords of the temporality farewell. They shall have no just cause (by God's grace) to take it, that I intend to say in ill part. As for the spiritual prelacy, that now is, I have nothing to say to them, except I should repeat again a great part of that I have said before now already to the see of London.

To you, therefore, my Lords of the temporality, will I speak; and this would I have you first to understand: that, when I wrote this, I looked daily when I should be called to the change of this life, and thought that this, my writing, should not come to your knowledge, before the time of the dissolution of my body and soul should be expired. And therefore know ye, that I had before mine eyes only the fear of God, and Christian charity toward you; which moved me to write. For of you hereafter I look not in this world either for pleasure or displeasure. If my talk shall do you never so much

pleasure or profit, you cannot promote me ; nor, if I displease you, ye cannot hurt me, or harm me : for I shall be out of your reach. Now, therefore, if you fear God, and can be content to hear the talk of him, that seeketh nothing at your hands, but to serve God and to do you good : hearken what I say.

I say unto you, as St. Paul saith to the Galatians, I wonder, my Lords, what hath bewitched you, that ye so suddenly are fallen from Christ unto antichrist ; from Christ's gospel unto men's traditions ; from the Lord, that bought you, unto the bishops now of Rome. I warn you of your peril : be not deceived, except you will be found willingly consenters unto your own death. For if ye think thus ; " We are laymen ; this is a matter of religion : we follow as we are taught and led ; if our teachers and governors teach us and lead us amiss, the fault is in them, they shall bear the blame." My Lords, this is true (I grant you), that both the false teacher and the corrupt governor shall be punished for the death of their subject, whom they have falsely taught and corruptly led ; yea, and his blood shall be required at their hands : but yet, nevertheless, shall that subject die the death himself also ; that is, he shall also be damned for his own sin ; for " if the blind lead the blind," Christ saith, not the leader only, but he saith, " both shall fall into the ditch."

Shall the synagogue and the senate of the Jews (trow ye), which forsook Christ, and consented to his death, therefore be excused, because Annas and Caiaphas, with the Scribes and Pharisees, and their clergy, did teach them amiss ? Yea, and also Pilate, their governor, and the emperor's lieutenant, who by his tyranny did without cause put him to death ? Forsooth, no, my Lords, no : for notwithstanding that corrupt doctrine, or Pilate washing of his hands,

neither of both shall excuse either that synagogue, or seignury, or Pilate; but at the Lord's hand, for the chusion of that innocent blood, on the latter day all shall drink of the deadly whip. Ye are witty, and understand what I mean: therefore I will pass over this, and return to tell you, how ye are fallen from Christ to his adversary the Bishop of Rome.

And lest, my Lords, ye may peradventure think thus barely to call the Bishop of Rome Christ's adversary; or (to speak it in plain terms) to call him antichrist; that it is done in mine anguish, and that I do but rage, and as a desperate man do not care what I say, or upon whom I do rail: therefore, that your Lordships may perceive my mind, and thereby understand that I speak the words of truth and sobriety (as St. Paul said unto Festus), be it known unto your Lordships all, that as concerning the Bishop of Rome, I neither hate the person, nor the place; for I ensure your Lordships (the living Lord beareth me witness, before whom I speak), I do think many a good holy man, many martyrs and saints, have sat and taught in that place Christ's Gospel truly; which therefore justly may be called *Apostolici*, that is, true disciples of the Apostles, and also that church and congregation of Christians, Apostolic church, yea, and that certain hundred years after the same was first erected and builded upon Christ by the true apostolical doctrine, taught by the mouths of the Apostles themselves.

If you will know how long that was, and how many hundred of years, to be curious in pointing the precise number of years, I will not be too bold; but thus I say, so long and so many hundred years, as that see did truly teach and preach that Gospel and that religion, exercised that power and ordered every thing by those laws and rules, which that see received of the Apostles, and (as Tertullian saith)

the Apostles, of Christ, and Christ, of God: so long (I say) that see might well have been called Peter's and Paul's chair and see, or rather Christ's chair; and the bishop thereof, *Apostolicus*, or a true disciple and successor of the Apostles, and a minister of Christ.

But since the time, that that see hath degenerated from the trade of truth and true religion, the which it received of the Apostles at the beginning, and hath preached another gospel; hath set up another religion, hath exercised another power, and hath taken upon it to order and rule the church of Christ by other strange laws, canons, and rules, than ever it received of the Apostles, or the Apostles, of Christ: which things it doth at this day, and hath continued so doing (alas, alas!) of too long a time: since the time, I say, that the state and condition of that see hath thus been changed, in truth it ought, of duty and of right, to have the names changed, both of the see and of the sitter therein. For understand, my Lords, it was neither for the privilege of the place or person thereof, that that see and bishop thereof were called apostolic; but for the true trade of Christ's religion, which was taught and maintained in that see at the first, and of those godly men. And therefore, as truly and justly as that see then, for that true trade of religion and consanguinity of doctrine with the religion and doctrine of Christ's Apostles, was called apostolic: so, as truly and as justly, for the contrariety of religion and diversity of doctrine from Christ and his Apostles, that see and the bishop thereof, at this day both ought to be called, and are indeed antichristian.

The see is the seat of Satan, and the bishop of the same, that maintaineth the abominations thereof, is antichrist himself indeed. And for the same causes this see at this day is the same, which Saint

John calleth in his Revelation, Babylon, or the whore of Babylon, and spiritually Sodom and Egypt, the mother of fornications and of the abominations upon the earth. And with this whore do spiritually dwell, and lie with her, and commit most abominable adultery before God, all those kings and princes, yea, and all nations of the earth, which do consent to her abominations, and use or practise the same: that is (of the innumerable multitude of them, to rehearse some, for example sake), her dispensations, her pardons and pilgrimages, her invocation of saints, her worshipping of images, her false counterfeited religion in her monkery and friarage, her traditions, whereby God's laws are defiled: as her massing and false ministering of God's word and the sacraments of Christ, clean contrary to Christ's word and the Apostles' doctrine: whereof, in particularity, I have touched something before in my talk had with the see of London, and in other treatises more at large, wherein if it shall please God to bring the same to light, it shall appear, I trust, by God's grace, plainly to the man of God, and to him, whose rule in judgment of religion is God's word, that that religion, that rule and order, that doctrine and faith, which this whore of Babylon and the beast, whereupon she doth sit, maintaineth at this day with all violence of fire and sword, with spoil and banishment, according to Daniel's prophecy; and finally, with all falsehood, deceit, hypocrisy, and all kind of ungodliness, are as clean contrary to God's word, as darkness is unto light, or light unto darkness; white to black, or black to white; or as Belial unto Christ, or Christ unto antichrist himself.

I know, my Lords, and foresaw, when I wrote this, that so many of you, as should see this, my writing, not being before indued with the spirit of grace and the light of God's word; so many, I say,

would at these, my words, lord-like stamp, and spurn, and spit thereat. But sober yourselves with patience, and be still, and know ye, that in my writing of this, my mind was none other but in God (as the living God doth bear me witness), both to do you profit and pleasure. And otherwise, as for your displeasure, by that time this shall come to your knowledge, I trust by God's grace to be in the hands and protection of the Almighty, my heavenly Father, and the living Lord, which is (as St. John saith) the greatest of all. And then I shall not need, I trow, to fear what any lord, no nor what king or prince can do unto me.

My Lords, if in time past ye have been contented to hear me sometimes in matters of religion before the prince in the pulpit, and in the parliament house, and have not seemed to have despised what I have said, when as else, if ye had perceived just occasion, ye might then have suspected in my talk (though it had been reasonable), either desire of worldly gain, or fear of displeasure; how have then your Lordships more cause to hearken to my word, and to hear me patiently, seeing now ye cannot justly think of me (being in this case, appointed to die; and looking daily, when I shall be called to come before the eternal Judge), otherwise, but that I only study to serve my Lord God, and to say that thing, which I am persuaded assuredly by God's word shall and doth please him, and profit all them to whom God shall give grace to hear and believe what I do say. And I do say even that I have said heretofore, both of the see of Rome, and of the bishop thereof: I mean after this their present state at this day, wherein if ye will not believe the ministers of God, and true preachers of his word, verily I denounce unto you in the words of the Lord, except ye do repent betime,

it shall turn to your confusion, and to your smart on the latter day.

Forget not what I say, my Lords, for God's sake forget not, but remember it upon your bed. For I tell you moreover, as I know I must be accountable for this, my talk, and for my speaking thus, to the eternal Judge, who will judge nothing amiss; so shall you be accountable for your duty in hearing, and you shall be charged, if ye will hearken to God's word, for not obeying the truth.

Alas, my Lords, how chanceth this, that this matter is now anew again to be persuaded unto you? Who would have thought of late, but your Lordships had been persuaded indeed sufficiently, or else that ye could ever have agreed so uniformly with one consent to the abolishment of the usurpation of the Bishop of Rome? If that matter then were but a matter of policy wherein the prince must be obeyed; how is it now made a matter, wherein (as your clergy say, now and so say the Pope's laws indeed) standeth the unity of the catholic church, and a matter of necessity of our salvation? Hath the time, being so short, since the death of the two last kings, Henry the Eighth, and Edward his son, altered the nature of the matter? If it have not, but was of the same nature and danger before God then, as it is now; and be now (as it is said by the Pope's laws and the instructions set forth in English to the curates of the diocese of York) indeed a matter of necessity to salvation: how then chanced it, that ye were all, O my Lords, so light, and so little passed upon the catholic faith and the unity thereof (without the which no man can be saved), as for your princes' pleasures which were but mortal men, to forsake the unity of your catholic faith, that is, to forsake Christ and his holy gospel?

And furthermore, if it were both then and now so

necessary to salvation, how chanced it also, that ye all, the whole body of the Parliament agreeing with you, did not only abolish and expel the Bishop of Rome, but also did oblige him in your own persons, and did decree in your acts great oaths to be taken of both the spirituality and temporality, whosoever should enter into any weighty and chargeable office in the commonwealth?

But on the other side, if the law and decree, which maketh the supremacy of the see and bishop of Rome over the universal church of Christ, a thing of necessity required unto salvation, be an antichristian law (as it is indeed), and such instructions, as are given to the diocese of York, be indeed a setting forth of the power of that beast of Babylon, by the craft and falsehood of his false prophets (as of truth, compared unto God's word, and truly judged by the same, it shall plainly appear that they be): then, my Lords, never think other, but the day shall come, when ye shall be charged with this, your undoing of that, that once ye had well done; and with this, your perjury and breach of your oath, which oath was done in judgment, justice, and truth, agreeable to God's law.

The whore of Babylon may well for a time dally with you, and make you so drunken with the wine of her filthy stews and whoredom, as with her dispensations and promises of pardon *a poena et culpa*, that for drunkenness and blindness ye may think yourselves safe. But be ye assured, when the living Lord shall try the matter by the fire, and judge it according to his word; when all her abominations shall appear, what they be; then ye, my Lords (I give your Lordships warning in time), repent, if ye would be happy and love your own souls health; repent, I say; or else, without all doubt, ye shall

never escape the hands of the living Lord, for the guilt of your perjury and the breach of your oath.

As ye have banquetted and lain by the whore in the fornication of her whorish dispensations, pardons, idolatry, and such-like abominations; so shall ye drink with her (except ye repent betime) of the cup of the Lord's indignation and everlasting wrath, which is prepared for the beast, his false prophets, and all their partakers. For he, that is partner with them in their whoredom and abominations, must also be partner with them of their plagues, and in the latter day shall be thrown with them into the lake burning with brimstone and unquenchable fire.

Thus fare ye well, my Lords, all. I pray God, give you understanding of his blessed will and pleasure, and make you to believe and embrace the truth. Amen.

ANOTHER FAREWELL

To the Prisoners in Christ's Gospel's Cause, and to all them, which for the same Cause are exiled and banished out from their own Country, choosing rather to leave all worldly Commodity, than their Master, Christ.

FAREWELL, my dearly beloved brethren in Christ, both ye, my fellow-prisoners, and ye also, that be exiled and banished out of your countries, because ye will rather forsake all worldly commodity, than the gospel of Christ.

Farewell, all ye together in Christ, farewell, and be merry, for ye know, that the trial of your faith bringeth forth patience, and patience shall make us perfect, whole, and sound on every side: and such after trial ye know shall receive the crown of life, according to the promise of the Lord, made to his dearly beloved. Let us therefore be patient unto the coming of the Lord. As the husbandman abideth patiently the former and latter rain for the increase of his crop: so let us be patient and pluck up our hearts; for the coming of the Lord approacheth apace. Let us, my dear brethren, take example of patience in tribulation of the prophets, which spake likewise God's word truly in his name.

Let Job be to us an example of patience, and the end which the Lord suffered, which is full of mercy and pity. We know, my brethren, by God's word, that our faith is much more precious than any corruptible gold, and yet that is tried by the fire; even so our faith is therefore tried likewise in tribulations, that it may be found, when the Lord shall appear, laudable, glorious, and honourable. For if we for Christ's cause do suffer, that is grateful before God;

for thereunto are we called. That is our state and vocation, wherewith let us be content. Christ, we know, suffered for us afflictions, leaving us an example, that we should follow his footsteps. For he committed no sin, nor was guile found in his mouth: when he was railed upon and also reviled, he railed not again; when he was evil entreated, he did not threaten, but committed the punishment thereof to Him, that judgeth aright.

Let us ever have in fresh remembrance those wonderful, comfortable sentences spoken by the mouth of our Saviour Christ: "Blessed are they, which suffer persecution for righteousness sake, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven. Blessed are ye, when men revile you, persecute you, and speak all evil against you for my sake, rejoice and be glad, for great is your reward in heaven, for so did they persecute the prophets, which were before you." Therefore, let us always bear this in our minds, that if any incommmodity do chance unto us for righteousness sake, happy are we, whatsoever the world doth think of us. Christ, our master, hath told us beforehand, that the brother should put the brother to death, and the father the son, and the children should rise against their parents and kill them: and that Christ's true Apostles should be hated of all men for his name sake: but he, that shall abide patiently unto the end, shall be saved.

Let us then endure in all troubles patiently, after the example of our master, Christ, and be contented thereat; for he suffered, being our master and Lord: how doth it not then become us to suffer? "For the disciple is not above his master, nor the servant above his lord. It may suffice the disciple to be as his master, and the servant to be as his lord. If they have called the father of the family, the master of the household, Beelzebub, how much more shall

they call so them of his household?" "Fear them not then," saith our Saviour, "for all privities shall be made plain, there is now nothing secret, but it shall be shewed in light." Of Christ's words let us neither be ashamed, nor afraid to speak them. For so Christ, our master, commandeth us, saying, "That I tell you privily, speak openly abroad: and that I tell you in your ear, preach it upon the house-top." And, "fear not them, which kill the body, for the soul they cannot kill; but fear Him, which can cast both body and soul into hell fire."

Know ye, that the heavenly Father hath ever a gracious eye and respect towards you, and a fatherly providence for you: so that, without his knowledge and permission, nothing can do you harm. Let us, therefore, cast all our care upon him, and he shall provide that, which shall be best for us. For, if of two small sparrows, which both are sold for a mite, one of them lighteth not on the ground without your Father; and all the hairs of your head are numbered; fear not then, saith our master Christ, for ye are more worth than many small sparrows.

Let us not stick to confess our master Christ, for fear of danger, whatsoever it shall be, remembering the promise that Christ maketh, saying, "Whosoever shall confess me before men, him shall I confess before my Father which is in heaven; but whosoever shall deny me, him shall I likewise deny before my Father, which is in heaven." Christ came not to give unto us here a carnal amity, and a worldly peace, or to knit his unto the world in ease and peace: but rather to separate and divide them from the world, and to join them unto himself; in whose cause we must, if we will be his, forsake father and mother, and stick unto him. If we forsake him, or shrink from him, for trouble or death's sake, which he calleth his cross; he will none of us, we cannot be his.

If for his cause we shall lose our temporal lives here, we shall find them again and enjoy them for evermore; but if in his cause we will not be contented to leave nor lose them here; then shall we lose them so, that we shall never find them again, but in everlasting death. What though our troubles here be painful for the time, and the sting of death bitter and unpleasant; yet we know, that they shall not last in comparison of eternity, no, not the twinkling of an eye, and that they, being patiently taken in Christ's cause, shall procure and get us immeasurable heaps of heavenly glory, unto the which these temporal pains of death and troubles compared, are not to be esteemed, but to be rejoiced upon.

"Wonder not," saith St. Peter, "as though it were any strange matter, that ye are tried by the fire (he meaneth of tribulation), which thing," saith he, "is done to prove you. Nay, rather, in that ye are partners of Christ's afflictions, rejoice, that in his glorious revelation ye may rejoice with merry hearts. If ye suffer rebukes in Christ's name, happy are you, for the glory and spirit of God resteth upon you. Of them God is reviled and dishonoured; but of you he is glorified."

"Let no man be ashamed of that he suffereth as a Christian, and in Christ's cause; for now is the time, that judgment and correction must begin at the house of God: and if it begin first at us, what shall be the end of those, think ye, which believe not the Gospel? and if the righteous shall be hardly saved, the wicked and the sinner, where shall he appear? wherefore, they, which are afflicted according to the will of God, let them lay down and commit their souls to him by well doing, as to a trusty and faithful Maker."

This, as I said, may not seem strange to us, for we know that all the whole fraternity of Christ's congregation in this world is served with the like, and by the same is made perfect: for the fervent love that the Apostles had unto their master, Christ; and for the great commodities and increase of all godliness, which they felt by their faith to ensue of afflictions in Christ's cause; and thirdly, for the heaps of heavenly joys, which the same do get unto the godly, which shall endure in heaven for evermore: for these causes, I say, the Apostles of their afflictions did joy, and rejoiced in that they were had and accounted worthy to suffer contumelies and rebukes for Christ's name.

And Paul, as he gloried in the grace and favour of God, whereunto he was brought and stood in by faith; so he rejoiced in his afflictions, for the heavenly and spiritual profits, which he numbered to rise upon them: yea, he was so far in love with that, that the carnal man loatheth so much, that is, with Christ's cross, that he judged himself to know nothing else but Christ crucified: he will glory, he saith, in nothing else but in Christ's cross; yea, and he blesseth all those, as the only true Israelites and elect people of God, with peace and mercy, which walk after that rule, and after none other.

O! Lord, what a wonderful spirit was that, that made Paul, in setting forth of himself against the vanity of Satan's pseudapostles*, and in his claim there, that he in Christ's cause did excel and pass them all; what wonderful spirit was that, I say, that made him to reckon up all his troubles, his labours, his beatings, his whippings and scourgings, his shipwrecks, his dangers and perils, by water and by land; his famine, hunger, nakedness, and cold, with

* False teachers.

many more, and the daily care of all the congregations of Christ, among whom every man's pain did pierce his heart, and every man's grief was grievous unto him? O Lord, is this Paul's primacy, whereof he thought so much good, that he did excel others? Is not this Paul's saying unto Timothy, his own scholar, and doth it not pertain to whomsoever will be Christ's true soldiers: "Bear thou," saith he, "affliction, like a good soldier of Jesus Christ?" "This is true, if we die with him (he meaneth Christ), we shall live with him; if we suffer with him, we shall reign with him; if we deny him, he shall deny us; if we be faithless, he remaineth faithful, he cannot deny himself."

This Paul would have known to every body; for there is none other way to heaven, but Christ and his way: and "all that will live godly in Christ, shall (saith St. Paul) suffer persecution." By this way went to heaven the patriarchs, the prophets, Christ our master, his apostles, his martyrs, and all the godly since the beginning. And, as it hath been of old, that he, which was born after the flesh, persecuted him, which was born after the spirit, for so it was in Isaac's time: so, said St. Paul, it was in his time also. And whether it be so, or no, now, let the spiritual man, the self-same man I mean that is endued with the spirit of Almighty God, let him be judge.

Of the cross of the patriarchs, as ye may read in their stories, if ye read the book of Genesis, ye shall perceive. Of others St. Paul in few words comprehendeth much matter, speaking, in a generality, of the wonderful afflictions, death, and torments, which the men of God, in God's cause, and for the truth's sake, willingly and gladly did suffer.

After much particular rehearsal of many, he saith, "Others were racked and despised, and would not

be delivered, that they might obtain a better resurrection. Others again we tried with mockings and scourgings, and moreover with bonds and imprisonment; they were stoned, hewn asunder, tempted, fell, and were slain upon the edge of the sword: some wandered to and fro in sheeps' pilches, in goats' pilches, forsaken, oppressed, afflicted: such godly men, as the world was unworthy of, wandering in wilderness, in mountains, in caves, and in dens; and all these were commended for their faith. And yet they abide for us the servants of God, and for those, their brethren, which are to be slain, as they were, for the word of God's sake, that none be shut out, but that we may all go together to meet our master, Christ, in the air at his coming, and so to be in bliss with him in body and soul for evermore.

Therefore, seeing we have so much occasion to suffer, and to take afflictions for Christ's name's sake patiently, so many commodities thereby, so weighty causes, so many good examples, so great necessity, so sure promises of eternal life and heavenly joys, of him that cannot lie; let us throw away whatsoever might let us: all burden of sin, and all kind of carnality, and patiently and constantly let us run for the best game in "this race, that is set before us; ever having our eyes upon Jesus Christ, the ring-leader, captain, and perfecter of our faith, which for the joy, that was set before him, endured the cross, not passing upon the ignominy and shame thereof, and is set now at the right hand of the throne of God." Consider this, that he suffered such strife of sinners against himself, that ye should not give over, nor faint in your minds. As yet, brethren, we have not withstood unto death, fighting against sin.

Let us never forget, dear brethren, for Christ's sake, that fatherly exhortation of the wise, that speaketh unto us, as unto his children, the godly

wisdom of God, saying thus : “My son, despise not the correction of the Lord, nor fall from him, when thou art rebuked of him : for whom the Lord loveth, him doth he correct ; and scourgeth every child, whom he receiveth. What child is he, whom the father doth not chasten ? If ye be free from chastisement, whereof all are partakers, then are ye bastards and no children—Sceing then, when as we have had carnal parents, which chastened us, we revered them : shall not we much more be subject unto our spiritual Father, that we might live ? And they for a little time have taught us, after their own mind ; but this Father teacheth us to our commodity, to give unto us his holiness. All chastisement for the present time appeareth not pleasant, but painful : but afterward it rendereth the fruit of righteousness on them which are exercised in it.”

Wherefore, let us be of good cheer (good brethren), and let us pluck up our feeble members, that were fallen or began to faint ; heart, hands, knees, and all the rest ; and let us walk upright and straight, that no limping nor halting bring us out of the way. Let us look not upon the things, that be present ; but with the eyes of our faith let us stedfastly behold the things, that be everlasting in heaven, and so choose rather in respect of that, which is to come, with the chosen members of Christ to bear Christ’s cross, than for this short lifetime, to enjoy all the riches, honours, and pleasure, of the broad world.

Why should we Christians fear death ? Can death deprive us of Christ, which is all our comfort, our joy, and our life ? Nay, forsooth. But contrary, death shall deliver us from this mortal body, which loadeth and beareth down the spirit, that it cannot so well perceive heavenly things, in the which, so long as we dwell, we are absent from God.

Wherefore, understanding our state, in that we be Christians, that “if our mortal body, which is

our earthly house, were destroyed, we have a building, a house not made with hands, but everlasting in heaven ;” therefore we are of good cheer, and know, that when we are in the body, we are absent from God, for we walk by faith and not by clear sight. Nevertheless, we are bold, and had rather be absent from the body and present with God. Wherefore, we strive, whether we be present at home, or absent abroad, that we may always please him. And who, that hath true faith in our Saviour, Christ, whereby he knoweth somewhat truly, what Christ our Saviour is ; that he is the eternal Son of God, life, light, the wisdom of the Father, all goodness, all righteousness, and whatsoever is good, that heart can desire ; yea, infinite plenty of all these, above that, than man’s heart can either conceive or think (for in him dwelleth the fulness of the Godhead corporally) : and also, that he is given us of the Father, and made of God to be our wisdom, our righteousness, our holiness, and our redemption : who, I say, is he, that believeth this indeed, that would not gladly be with his master, Christ ?

Paul for this knowledge coveted to have been loosed from the body, and to have been with Christ ; for that he counted it, much better for himself, and had rather to be loosed than to live. Therefore, these words of Christ to the thief on the cross, that asked of him mercy, were full of comfort and solace : “ This day thou shalt be with me in Paradise.”

To die in the defence of Christ’s Gospel, it is our bounden duty to Christ, and also to our neighbour. To Christ, for he died for us and rose again, that he might be Lord over all. And seeing he died for us, we also (saith St. John) should jeopard *, yea,

* Hazard.

give our life for our brethren. And this kind of giving and losing, is getting and winning indeed : for he, that giveth or loseth his life thus, getteth and winneth it for evermore. Blessed are they, therefore, that die in the Lord : and, if they die in the Lord's cause, they are most happy of all.

Let us not then fear death, which can do us no harm, otherwise than for a moment to make the flesh to smart : for that our faith, which is surely fastened and fixed unto the word of God, telleth us that we shall be anon after death in peace, in the hands of God, injoy in solace ; and that from death we shall go straight into life. For St. John saith, " he, that liveth and believeth in me shall never die." And in another place, " he shall depart from death unto life." And, therefore, this death of the Christian is not to be called death, but rather a gate or entrance into everlasting life. Therefore Paul calleth it but a dissolution and resolution, and both Peter and Paul, a putting off this tabernacle or dwelling house : meaning thereby, the mortal body, as wherein the soul or spirit doth dwell here in this world for a small time : yea, this death may be called to the Christian, an end of all miseries. For, so long as we live here, we must pass through many tribulations, before we can enter into the kingdom of heaven. And now, after that death hath shot his bolt, all the Christian man's enemies have done, what they can ; and after that, they have no more to do.

What could hurt or harm poor Lazarus, that lay at the rich man's gate ? his former penury and poverty, his miserable beggary and horrible sores and sickness ? For so soon, as death had stricken him with his dart, so soon came the angels, and carried him straight up into Abraham's bosom. What lost he by death, who from misery and pain

is set by the ministry of angels in a place both of joy and solace ?

Farewell, dear brethren, farewell, and let us comfort our hearts in all troubles and in death, with the word of God : for heaven and earth shall perish, but the word of the Lord endureth for ever.

Farewell, Christ's dearly beloved spouse, here wandering in this world, as in a strange land, far from thine own country, and compassed about on every hand with deadly enemies, which cease not to assault thee, ever seeking thy destruction.

Farewell, farewell, O ! ye, the whole and universal congregation of the chosen of God, here living upon earth, the true church militant of Christ, the true mystical body of Christ, the very household and family of God, and the sacred temple of the Holy Ghost. Farewell.

Farewell, O ! thou little flock of the high heavenly Pastor, Christ, for to thee it hath pleased the heavenly Father to give an everlasting and eternal kingdom. Farewell.

Farewell, thou spiritual house of God, thou holy and royal priesthood, thou chosen generation, thou holy nation, thou won spouse, farewell ! farewell !

NICHOLAS RIDLEY.

CERTAIN
GODLY, LEARNED, AND COMFORTABLE
CONFERENCES,

BETWEEN THE
TWO REVEREND FATHERS AND HOLY MARTYRS,

DR. NICHOLAS RIDLEY,

LATE BISHOP OF LONDON,

AND

M. HUGH LATIMER,

SOMETIME BISHOP OF WORCESTER,

DURING THE TIME OF THEIR IMPRISONMENT.

*Reprinted from the Edition of 1574, printed at
London by John Audeley.*

The following Preface is prefixed to the Edition of
1574.

TO THE READER.

GRACE and peace, &c. Good Christian reader, here are set forth, for thine instruction and comfort, certain learned and comfortable Conferences between the two reverend and godly fathers, M. Ridley and M. Latimer, whose bodies the Romish tyranny of late hath tormented, and fire hath consumed, whose souls mercy hath embraced, and heaven hath received: yielding the one unto the enemy to death, for testimony of the truth; commending the other unto God in sure hope of life. And forasmuch as these, their scrolls and writings, were by God's good providence preserved, and, as it were, raked out of the ashes of the authors, containing as well comfortable consolation for such as are in the school of the cross, as also good and profitable admonition for them, which (either of ignorance, either of infirmity, or by flattering of themselves with vain pretences) do yield unto the wicked world; the reverence due to the reverend fathers, the zeal towards the setting forth of the tried truth, and the ready good will to comfort and confirm weak consciences, would not suffer thee any longer to want these small treatises, and yet no small treasures: that as in life they profited thee by teaching, and in death by example, so after death they may do thee good by writing.

And, albeit, the matter of itself is sufficient to commend itself, yet it cannot be, but the worthiness of the writers will increase credit and give no small authority to the writings. Master Latimer came earlier in the morning, and was the more ancient workman in the Lord's vineyard: who also may very

well be called (as divers learned men have termed him) the Apostle of England, as one much more worthy of that name for his true doctrine, for his sharp reproving of sin and superstition, than was Augustin, Bishop of Canterbury, for bringing in the Pope's monkery and false religion. M. Ridley came later about the eleventh hour, but no doubt he came when he was effectually called, and from the time of his calling became a faithful labourer, terrible to the enemies for his excellent learning, and therefore a meet man to rid out of the Lord's vineyard the sophistical thorns of the wrangling adversaries, which did well appear in all disputations and conferences, that were in his time, and partly doth appear in this treatise following, and also in his excellent brief treatise upon the Lord's supper, now also newly printed.

But what shall it need many words to praise them, whose lives were most commendable, whose deaths were most glorious? in office and vocation both alike, in labour and travail both faithful, in learning and judgment both sound, in mind and manners both mild, in God's cause both stout. For neither threatened death, neither love of present life could shake the foundation of their faith, firmly grounded upon the sure rock of Christ. They redeemed liberty of conscience with the bondage of the body, and, to save their lives, they were content to lose their lives. This was not the work of the flesh, but the operation of God's mighty Spirit, who hath ever from the beginning not only builded but also enlarged his church by the sufferance of his saints, and sealed his doctrine with the blood of his martyrs, as St. Austin, speaking of the persecutions in the primitive church, doth well declare in these words: "The Christians were bound, were imprisoned,

were beat, were tormented, were burnt, and yet were multiplied." (*De Civit. Dei*, lib. 22. c. 6.)

If Justinus Martyr, when he was yet a heathen philosopher (as he confesseth of himself), was moved to embrace the faith and religion of Christ, in beholding the constant patience of the martyrs, which suffered for Christ in his time, how much more ought the patient suffering and voluntary death of these notable fathers, with many other learned godly men in our days, whose names are written in the book of life, not only move but also pierce and persuade all godly hearts constantly to remain in the truth known? for, undoubtedly, the truth of the cause they suffered for is most evident by God's word, and hath been so fully taught, so clearly set forth by so many and sundry writings, that it is open to the consciences of all the world, even of the very adversaries themselves, that persecute it (the greater is their damnation), except it be to such whom the God of this world, malice, ambition, avarice or ignorance hath blinded. Which thing needeth none other proof (especially for the realm of England) but only to call to mind with what conscience and constancy those pillars of the church, that cannot err, have walked in religion these twenty years by past: how they once received and allowed those things, which with fire and fagot they persecute now, and shrank from that then, which now they most earnestly maintain. And although there appeared in the latter days a shadow of stoutness in a few, yet it was indeed nothing. For it sprang not out of any zeal to the cause, or clearness of conscience, but rather out of a like subtle and foxy presumption, as the Syrians once conceived, when they put themselves in the danger of king Ahab, saying: "Behold, we have heard, that the kings of the house of Israel are pitiful and merciful."

For, out of all doubt, King Harry the Eighth could as easily have obtained, at Winchester's hands and others, a conformity in putting down the mass and all the rest, whatsoever hath been done (by order) since, if he had earnestly minded it; as the abolishing of the Pope, monkery, pilgrimages, relics, with like baggage, all which are now again things well esteemed and covered, as all the residue is, with the cloak the Catholic church.

But to return to the matter we have in hand: In this little treatise (good reader) thou shalt perceive another manner of spirit. Thou shalt think (if thou thyself be not very dull), that thou hearest men speak, which had learned the lesson of the Apostles; that is, to obey God, rather than man: and had not learned the Romish epicure's lesson, to apply faith and religion to the present state of policy, to run with the time and serve all seasons: men before death, deaden to the world, accounting with St. Paul all other things to be damage, loss, and vile, that they might win Christ: men, zealous for the house of God and the glory of his name: such as had already laid open their consciences and infirmities before the judgment-seat of God, and had again (through Christ) received the effect of faith and true righteousness, that is, peace of conscience and joyfulness in the Holy Ghost; and so had a full taste in this mortal body of immortality; in misery, of happiness; in earth, of heaven.

O, England, England, how great is thy loss for the want of them! how horrible is thine offence for killing of them! how grievous will thy plague be, when the Revenger of innocent blood shall call thee to an account for them, if thou do not repent in time! God grant, that the admonitions of these, and other godly martyrs, may so warn

us ; their doctrine so instruct us ; and their example so confirm us in the true knowledge and fear of God ; that flying and abhorring idolatry and superstition, we may embrace true religion and piety ; forsaking the fantasies of men, we may humbly obey the written word of God ; and ruled thereby, direct all our doings to the glory of his name, and our endless salvation in Christ Jesus. Amen.

CONFERENCES

BETWEEN

BISHOPS RIDLEY AND LATIMER.

"In the name of Jesus let every knee bow." Phil. 2.

Ridley. "A bishop ought to be unreprieveable, as the steward of God, cleaving fast to the true word of doctrine, &c." (Titus, ii.) All worldly respects put apart, of shame, death, loss of goods, and worldly commodities, let me have, I pray you, your advice in these matters following. What is your assent and confirmation in these things, which you judge that God doth allow, and your best counsel and advertisement, where you think otherwise, and your reasons * for both the same. For the wise man saith, "One brother which is helped of another, is like a well-defended city." (*Prov. 18.*)

* "Till the Kentish insurrection, under Wyatt, had furnished the Tower with crowds of prisoners, the Bishops appear to have had separate rooms, with the opportunity of meeting sometimes, when they were indulged to take the benefit of the air in the garden of the Tower: but at those interviews they were guarded. Ridley was desirous of a serious conference with his fellow-prisoners to sift his own opinions, and correct, or strengthen them from the experience of those veterans. He knew his life was at stake, and he verily believed the truth of Christ was so also: he would not willingly rush on death through tortures for a mistaken question, or a point of little importance; nor weakly betray the cause of truth either over-reached by their sophistry, or terrified by their cruelties. He therefore desired the sincere advice of these true friends either to point out his error, or confirm his resolution. For which purpose he wrote to them, setting down his own reasons, and leaving a blank under each, which he wished those venerable fathers to fill up with their observations or corrections. Latimer's answers are preserved." (*Gloucester Ridley's Life of Bishop Ridley, 444.*)

The causes that move me to abstain from the mass, be these :

I. It is done in a strange tongue, which the people do not understand, contrary to the doctrine of the Apostle. (1 *Cor.* xiv.)

Latimer. Where is no understanding, there is neither edifying, nor comfort : for besides that they speak into the air, the mind receiveth no profit ; they are one to another as aliens. The parishioners will say, their priests are mad, whereas all things might be done so as they may edify. Let every man know, that the things which I write (saith St. Paul) are the commandments of the Lord. Such absurdities are to be eschewed.

Ridley. II. There is also wanting the shewing of the Lord's death, contrary to the mind of the Apostle, " As often as ye shall eat this bread, and drink of this cup, ye shall shew the Lord's death till he come." What shewing can be there, where no man heareth, that is to say, understandeth, what is said ? No man (I mean) of the common people, for whose profit the prayer of the church ought specially to serve.

Latimer. Christ saith, " Woe be unto you, that take away the key of knowledge " (*Luke*, xi.). The Papists study by all means to make the people ignorant (lest their ignorant Sir Johns should be had in less estimation or despised), which is clean contrary to St. Paul's practice, who wished that all men might be fulfilled with all knowledge, and to be perfect in Christ Jesus, &c. The institution of Christ, if it were rehearsed in the vulgar tongue, should be not only a consecration, but also a fruitful preaching, to the edification of the hearers. Whereas in the Popish mass it is neither understood nor heard, whilst the common people are utterly ignorant what their priests do, or what they go about, whether they bless

or curse. The Apostles understood Christ, when he celebrated his supper: therefore do these Papists swerve from Christ in their mass.

Ridley. III. There is no communion, but it is made a private table, whereas indeed it ought to be a communion: for St. Paul saith, "The bread, which we break, is the partaking of the body of Christ." And Christ brake, distributed, and said, "Take and eat, &c." But they make it a private table: it is open. For where they be many priests, which will communicate, they do it not at one table or altar, but every one of them have their altars, masses, and tables.

Latimer. To make that private, which Christ made common, and willed to be communicated, may seem to be the workmanship of Antichrist himself. The canons of the Apostles do excommunicate them, which being present at common prayer, &c. do not also receive the holy communion. And unto the same agreeth the decree of Anacletus: "When the consecration is done (saith he), let all such communicate as intend not to be excommunicated." Tertullian saith, "That which is first, is true; that which is latter, is counterfeited." But the Papists say, We do it privately, because we do it for others. But where have you your commission to mass and sacrifice for others?

Ridley. IV. The Lord's commandment, of communicating the cup unto the lay people, is not observed according to the word of the Lord: "Drink ye all of this."

Latimer. Paul saith, "As often as ye shall eat of this bread, and drink of this cup, ye shall shew the Lord's death, &c." So, that not the partaking of the one only, but of both, is a shewing of the Lord's death; because in his death the blood was divided from the body, it is necessary that the same

division be represented in the supper ; otherwise the supper is not a shewing of the Lord's death.

“ Let a man examine himself, &c.” But this word, “ *Homo*,” is of both genders : therefore, it is as well commanded to the woman to drink of the cup, as the man, &c. But the king's argument, once against me, was this : “ When ye come together to eat,” he saith not (saith he) to drink. I answered, it was not needful, seeing that a little before he had made mention of both in these words : “ And so let him eat of that bread and drink of that cup.” “ *Homo*,” that is to say, as well the woman as the man. Under the name of bread, which be-tokeneth all sustenance of the body, drink is also understood in the Scriptures. Otherwise they would say, that Christ did not drink after his resurrection with his disciples, except Peter had said, we did eat and drink with him after he arose from death.

Ridley. V. They do servilely serve the holy sign (as St. Austin speaketh), instead of the thing signified, whilst the sacramental bread (by a solemn or common error) is adored and worshipped, for the flesh taken of the Son of God.

Latimer. If ye deny unto them their corporeal presence and transubstantiation, their fantastical adoration will (by and by) vanish away. Therefore be strong in denying such a presence, and then ye have won the field.

Furthermore, in the first supper, celebrated of Christ himself, there is no mention made of adoration of the elements ; who said, “ Eat ye, and drink ye,” not worship ye. Therefore against adoration may be spoken that saying of Christ concerning divorce, “ From the beginning it was not so.” But the devil secretly (and by little and little) infecteth all Christ's ordinances ; and as for the private mass, with all the sinews thereof, what manner of thing it is, may be easily perceived by the ready acceptance

of the people, whose hearts are prone to evil, even from their youth. *Gen.* viii.

Ridley. VI. They pluck away the honour from the only sacrifice of Christ, whilst this sacramental and mass-sacrifice is believed to be propitiatory, and such a one as purgeth the souls, both of the quick and the dead. Contrary to that is written to the Hebrews, "With one offering hath he made perfect for ever them that are sanctified." And again, "Where remission of these things (that is, of sins) is, there is no more offering for sin."

Latimer. By his own person he hath purged our sins. These words ("by his own person") have an emphasis, or vehemence, which driveth away all sacrificing priests from such office of sacrificing; seeing that, which he hath done by himself, he hath not left to be perfected by others; so that the putting off our sins may more truly be thought past and done, than a thing to come and to be done. "If any man sin, &c." He saith not, let him have a priest at home to sacrifice for him, but we have an Advocate, the virtue of whose one oblation endureth for ever. St. Paul saith, "They that serve the altar, &c.;" even so the Lord hath ordained, that they which preach the Gospel should live of the Gospel. Why doth he not rather say, they that sacrifice in the mass?

Ridley. VII. There be manifold abuses and superstitions, which are done in the mass, and about the mass. Salt is conjured, that it may be a conjured salt for the salvation of the believers, to be a salvation and health, both of the mind and of the body, unto everlasting life, to all them that receive it. Water is conjured, that it may be made a conjured water, to chase away all the power of the enemy, to chase away devils, &c. Bread also hath his second blessing, that it may be health of mind and body to all them that receive it. If we do think that such

strength is to be given to salt, water, and bread; or, if we judge that these things are able to receive any such virtue or efficacy, what leave we to Christ, our Saviour? But, if we think not so, why then do we pray on this sort? Forasmuch as all prayer ought to be done of faith.

Latimer. As touching the abuses of the mass, I refer you to a little book, the title whereof is *Mistress Missa* *, where she was justly condemned and banished under pain of burning. But the devil hath brought her in again, to bring us to burning.

Ridley. VIII. The priest turneth himself from the altar, and speaketh unto the people in an unknown tongue, saying, *Dominus vobiscum, orate pro me, fratres et sorores*, &c.; that is, The Lord be with you, and pray for me, brothers and sisters: and turning from the people, he saith in Latin, "Let us pray, and the peace of the Lord be always with you." Also, the people (or at least he which supplieth the place of the people) is compelled three times to say, "Amen," when he hath heard never a word of that the priest hath prayed or spoken, except these few words, *Per omnia secula seculorum*. Whereas to the answering of, "Amen," St. Paul willeth the answerer, not only to hear, but also to understand, the things that were spoken. 1 Cor. xiv.

Latimer. Yea, and, *Ite, missa est*, must be sung to them with a great rolling up and down of notes, so bidding them go home fasting, when he hath eaten and drunken up all himself alone. A fellow, once rebuked for going away before mass was ended, answered, that it was not good manners to tarry till he were bidden to go. After that he was blamed for not taking holy bread, he answered, that he was bidden to go away before.

* By Dr. Turner.

Ridley. IX. The priest, when he lifteth up the sacrament, he murmureth to himself these words: *Hæc quotiescunque feceritis, in mei memoriam facietis*; that is, “As often as you do these things, ye shall do it in remembrance of me.” He seemeth by his words to speak unto the people, but he suffereth not his voice to be heard of the people.

Latimer. I cannot tell to whom the mass-man speaketh, as he is a-listing, seeing that neither Christ bade him list, neither is the people allowed to do those things: and as for that form of words, it is of their own forming. But the Papists do all things well, be they never so much deceitful workers, taking upon them the vizor and title of the church, as it were sheep’s clothing, as though they were the ministers of righteousness: whereas, indeed, they are the devil’s ministers, whose end shall be according to their deeds. They roll out their Latin language by heart, but in so doing they make the poor people of Christ altogether ignorant; and so much as in them lieth, they keep them back from that which St. Paul calleth the best knowledge, which is, to know rightly the things which are given unto us of Christ. But this is the matter, so long as the priests speak Latin, they are thought of the people to be marvellous well learned.

Ridley. X. More yet of the canon, “upon the which vouchsafe to look with thy merciful and cheerful countenance.” What meaneth this prayer for the sacrament itself, if it be, as they say, the body of Christ, if it be God and man? How should the Father not look with a cheerful countenance upon his own well-beloved Son? Why do not we rather pray for ourselves, that we (for his sake) may be looked upon of the Father with a cheerful countenance?

Latimer. To this let them answer, that so pray: except, peradventure, this prayer was used long be-

fore it was esteemed to be the body of Christ really and corporally. And then this prayer maketh well to destroy the Popish opinion, that it is not the opinion of the church, nor so ancient, as they babble. There be other prayers of the mass, which, peradventure, be of like effect; but I have forgotten all massing matters, and the mass itself I utterly detest and abhor: and so I confessed openly before our Diotrephes* and others.

Ridley. XI. The canon again: “Cominand these to be carried by the hands of thy holy angel unto thy high altar, &c.” If we understand the body or blood of Christ, wherefore do we so soon desire the departure of them, before the receipt of the same? And wherefore brought we them thither by making of them, to let him go so soon?

Write again, I beseech you, fathers and brethren, most dearly beloved in Christ; spare not my paper, for I look ere it be long that our common enemy will first assault me, and I wish, from the bottom of my heart, to be holpen not only by your prayers, but also by your wholesome counsels.

Latimer. As Peter, when he said, Let us make here three tabernacles, spake, and wist not what; so, peradventure, our massmen cannot tell what they say, speaking so manifestly against themselves. So that the old proverb may very well be spoken of them, Liars have need to have good memories.

*Against the Sacrifice of the Mass yet more, by
H. Latimer.*

John Baptist saith, “A man can receive nothing, except it be given him from heaven.” And St. Paul saith, “No man taketh honour to himself, but he

* Bishop Gardiner.

that is called of God, as was Aaron, &c.” But to offer Christ, is a great and weighty matter, therefore ought no man to take it upon him without a manifest calling and commission. But where have our sacrificers so great an office committed unto them? Let them shew their commission, and then sacrifice. Peradventure they will say, “do this,” is all one to say, “offer this.” Then I ask, what was there done? What was demonstrated by this pronoun, “this?” Or, what did they see done, to whom these words, “do this,” were spoken? If the whole action of Christ, if all that Christ did, be meant by this word, “this;” and, “do,” is nothing else but to offer; then the whole action of Christ is to be offered of the priests, neither can they, but in so doing, satisfy the commandment. And so should it appear, that neither was there any sacrament instituted for the lay people, seeing that no such sacrifice hath been done at any time, or is to be done, of the lay people; neither doth it avail much to eat or drink it, but only to offer it. Now the text hath not, that any part of Christ’s action was to offer, forasmuch as the text doth not declare, that Christ himself did then offer. And so the action of offering is not contained in this pronoun, “this.”

Go through every word. First, “to take,” is not to offer; “to break,” is not to offer; “to give to the disciples,” is not to offer, &c. Worcester said once to me, that to offer was contained in *Benedicere*, which is not true; for *Benedicere* is to give thanks. But he had often given thanks to God before, without any such offering. And if in giving of thanks Christ offered his body, seeing after he had given thanks, he said, “This is my body;” then in speaking those words, he did not change the bread into his body, forasmuch as he had offered, before those words were spoken.

St. Paul hath these words to the Hebrews, speaking

of Christ: "that he might be merciful and a faithful high-priest in things concerning God, for to purge the people's sins." So that it may appear, that the purging of our sins doth rather hang here-of, that Christ was the high-priest offering, than that he was offered; saving in that he was of himself willingly offered. Then it is not necessary, he should be offered of others: I will not say a marvellous presumptuous act, that the same should be attempted of any, without a manifest vocation, for it is no small matter to make an oblation. And yet I speak nothing, that it tendeth partly to the derogation of Christ's cross, besides also that the offerer ought to be of more excellency than the thing offered.

The minister of the Gospel hath rather to do for Christ to the people, than for the people with God, except it be in praying and giving of thanks; and so hath the people as well to do with God for the minister. The office of reconciliation standeth in preaching, not in offering. "We are messengers in the room of Christ," saith St. Paul; he doth not say, We offer unto God for the people. If Christ offered in his supper, for whom I pray you? For all. Then his latter oblation, made on the cross, cannot be thought to be done for all men, for it was not done for them, for whom the oblation was made in the supper; except peradventure he offered twice for the self-same: and that should argue the imperfectness of the sacrifice. Feed ye, as much as in you lieth, the flock of Christ: nay, sacrifice rather for the flock of Christ, if the matter be as it is pretended; and it is marvel that Peter did forget so high an office, seeing in these days sacrificing is so much esteemed, preaching almost nothing at all. Who art thou, if thou ceasest to feed? A good catholic. But who art thou, if thou ceasest to sacrifice and say mass? At the least, an heretic. From whence come these perverse judgments, except, per-

adventure, they think that in sacrificing they feed, and then what needeth a learned pastor? Seeing no man is so foolish, but he can soon learn to sacrifice and say mass.

Paul wrote two epistles to Timothy, one to Titus, two clergymen. He made also a long sermon *Ad clerum*, but not one word of this mass sacrifice, which could not have been done, if there had been such a one, and so highly to be esteemed. I have read over of late the New Testament three or four times deliberately, yet can I find there neither the Popish consecration, nor yet their transubstantiation, nor their oblation, nor their adoration, which be the very sinews and marrow-bones of the mass.

Christ could not be offered, but propitiatorily; yet now, "*Hoc facite*, do this," must be as much to say, as, "Sacrifice and offer my body under a piece of bread," is available, but we cannot tell how much. Ah! thieves, have ye robbed the realm with your sacrifice of lands and goods; and now cannot tell how much your sacrifice is available? As who say, it is so much available, that the value cannot be expressed, nor too dear bought with both lands and goods. "The eye hath not seen, and the ear hath not heard, &c." This is a fine-spun thread, a cunning piece of work, worthily qualified and blanchèd, be ye sure. But the worldlings will not see, they will not have that religion, that hath the cross annexed to it.

All Popish things (for the most part) are man's inventions, whereas they ought to have the holy Scripture for the only rule of faith. When Paul made allegation for himself before Felix, the high deputy, he did not extend his faith beyond the word of God written; "Believing all things (saith he) which are written in the law and the prophets;" making no mention of the Rabbins. "Moreover,

they have Moses and the prophets" (saith Abraham in the parable), not their persons, but their writings. Also, "Faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the word of God." And again, "Blessed are they which hear the word, &c." "The things, which have not their authority at the Scriptures, may as easily be despised, as allowed," saith St. Hierome.

Therefore, whether it be of Christ, or of his church, or of any other manner of thing, which belongeth to our faith and life, I will not say. "If we (saith St. Austin), which are not worthy to be compared to him, that said;" if we, but that also which forthwith he addeth, "if an angel from heaven shall teach any thing, besides that ye have received in the Scriptures of the law and Gospel, accursed be he." Our Diotrophes with his Papists are under this curse. But how are the Scriptures (say they) to be understood? St. Austin answereth, giving this rule, "the circumstances of the Scriptures (saith he) enlighten the Scriptures, and so one Scripture doth expound another, to a man that is studious, well willing, and often calling upon God in continual prayer, who giveth his holy spirit to them that desire it of him."

So that the Scripture is not of any private interpretation at any time. For such a one, though he be a lay man, fearing God, is much more fit to understand holy Scripture, than any arrogant and proud priest, yea, than the bishop himself, be he never so great and glistering in all his pontificals. But what is to be said of the fathers? How are they to be esteemed? St. Austin answereth, giving this rule also, that we should not, therefore, think it true, because they say so, do they never so much excel in holiness or learning: but if they be able to prove their saying by the canonical Scriptures, or by good probable reason; meaning that to be a pro-

bable reason (as I think) which doth orderly follow upon a right collection and gathering out of the Scriptures.

Let the Papists go with their long faith, be you contented with the short faith of the saints, which is revealed unto us in the word of God written. Adieu to all Popish phantasies. Amen. For one man, having the Scripture and good reason for him, is more to be esteemed himself alone, than a thousand such as they, either gathered together, or succeeding one another. The fathers have both herbs and weeds, and Papists commonly gather the weeds and leave the herbs. And they speak many times more vehemently in sound of words, than they did mean indeed, or than they would have done, if they had foreseen what sophistical wranglers should have succeeded them. Now the Papists are given to brawl about words, to the maintenance of their own inventions, and rather follow the sound of words, than attain unto the meaning of the fathers, so that it is dangerous to trust them in citing the fathers.

In all ages the devil hath stirred up some light heads to esteem the sacraments but lightly, as to be empty and base signs; whom the fathers have resisted so fiercely, that in their fervour they seem in sound of words to run too far the other way, and to give too much to the sacraments, when they did think more measurably. And, therefore, they are to be read warily, with sound judgment. But our Papists, if they seem but a little sounding to their purpose, they will outface, brave, and brag all men: it must needs be, as they will have it. Therefore, there is no remedy, namely, when they have the master bowl in their hand and rule the roast, but patience. Better it is, to suffer what cruelty they will put unto us, than to incur God's high indignation.

Wherefore, good my Lord, be of good cheer in

the Lord, with due consideration what he requireth of you, and what he doth promise you. Our common enemy shall do no more, than God will permit him. "God is faithful, which will not suffer us to be tempted above our strength, &c." Be at a point, what ye will stand unto, stick unto that, and let them both say and do what they list. They can but kill the body, which otherwise is of itself mortal. Neither yet shall they do that, when they list, but when God will suffer them, when the hour appointed is come. To use many words with them, it shall be but in vain, now that they have a bloody and deadly law prepared for them. But it is very requisite that you give a reasonable account of your faith, if they will quietly hear you, else you know, in a wicked place of judgment a man may keep silence after the example of Christ. Let them not deceive you with their sophistical sophisms and fallacies; you know that many false things have more appearance of truth, than things that be most true. Therefore Paul giveth us a watch-word, saying, Let no man deceive you with likeliness of speech. Neither is it requisite, that with the contentious ye should follow strife of words, which tend to no edification, but to the subversion of the hearers, and the vain bragging and ostentation of the adversaries.

Fear of death doth most persuade a great number. Be well aware of that argument, for that persuaded Shaxton (as many men thought), after that he had once made a good profession, only before the judgment-seat. The flesh is weak, but the willingness of the spirit shall refresh the weakness of the flesh. The number of the criers under the altar, must needs be fulfilled. If we be segregated thereunto, happy be we. That is the greatest promotion that God giveth in this world, to be such Philippians, "to

whom it is given not only to believe, but also to suffer, &c." *Phil. i.*

But who is able to do these things? Surely all our ability, all our sufficiency is of God. He requireth and promiseth. Let us declare our obedience to his will, when it shall be requisite in the time of trouble, yea, in the midst of the fire. When that number is fulfilled which, I ween, shall be shortly, then have at the Papists, when they shall say, "Peace, all things are safe;" when Christ shall come to keep his great parliament, to the redress of all things, that be amiss. But he shall not come, as the Papists feign him, to hide himself and to play bo-peep, as it were, under a piece of bread, but he shall come gloriously, to the terror and fear of all Papists, but to the great consolation and comfort of all, that will here suffer for him. "Comfort yourselves one another with these words." *1 Thess. iv.*

Lo! Sir, I have blotted your paper vainly, and played the fool egregiously. But so I thought better, than not to do your request at this time. Pardon me, and pray for me: pray for me, I say, pray for me, I say. For I am sometimes so fearful, that I would creep into a mouse-hole; sometimes God doth visit me again with his comfort. So he cometh and goeth, to teach me to feel and to know mine infirmity, to the intent to give thanks to Him, that is worthy, lest I should rob him of his duty, as many do, and almost all the world.

Fare you well.

HUGH LATIMER.

What credence is to be given to Papists, it may appear by their racking, writhing, wringing, and monstrously injuring of God's holy Scripture, as appeareth in the Pope's law. But I dwell here now in a school of obliviousness. Farewell, once again.

And be you stedfast and immoveable in the Lord. Paul loved Timothy marvellous well, notwithstanding he saith unto him, “ Be thou partaker of the afflictions of the Gospel.” And again, “ Harden thyself to suffer afflictions. Be faithful unto the death, and I will give thee a crown of life, saith the Lord.”
2 *Tim.* i. iv. *Rev.* ii.

A

SECOND CONFERENCE *

BETWEEN THE SAME BISHOPS.

Nicholas Ridley to Master Latimer.

IN writing again, ye have done me an unspeakable pleasure, and I pray, that the Lord may requite it you in that day. For I have received great comfort at your words, but yet I am not so filled withal, but that I thirst much more now, than afore, to drink more of that cup of yours, wherem ye mingle unto me profitable with pleasant. I pray you, good father, let me have one draught more to comfort my stomach. For, surely, except the Lord assist me with his gracious aid, in the time of his service, I know, I shall play but the part of a white-livered knight. But truly my trust is in Him, that in mine

* "This judgment and advice of Latimer was so pleasing to Ridley, that he desired another Conference, in which he mentions the artifices and threatenings of Gardiner and Bonner, under the borrowed names of Diotrephes and Antonius, with his manner of replying to them. Both of those bishops harboured an implacable resentment against him, as he had sat commissioner at the deprivation of both of them. Yet such was Ridley's character, that they thought their cause wanted his countenance and assent to recommend it and make it universally victorious. They therefore had their emissaries to tamper with him, and if possible inveigle him to the mass, as if his bare presence at it would reconcile the people to it. This is the point they labour, and he resolves against, in this second Conference with Latimer: which shews that he had been attacked on this point, and determined not to be persuaded or tempted to comply in that respect, and that being disappointed they gave way to their original resentment, and threatened him with the severity of the laws against those, who would not act in compliance with them." (*G. Ridley's Life of Bishop Ridley*, p. 455.)

infirmity he shall try himself strong, and that he can make the coward, in his cause to fight like a man. Sir, now I look daily when Diotrephes with his warriors shall assault me, therefore I pray you, good father, for that you are an old soldier, and an expert warrior, and, God knoweth, I am but a young soldier, and as yet but of small experience in these feats, help me I pray you to buckle on my harness.' And now I would have you to think that these darts are cast at my head of some one of Diotrephes' or Antonius' soldiers.

The I. Objection of Antonius.

All men marvel greatly, why you (after the liberty which you have granted unto you, more than the rest) do not go to mass, which is a thing (as you know) now much esteemed of all men, yea, and of the Queen herself.

The Answer.

Ridley. Because "no man, that layeth hand on the plough, and looketh back, is fit for the kingdom of God." And also for the self-same cause, why St. Paul would not suffer Titus to be circumcised: which is, that the truth of the Gospel might remain with us uncorrupted. And again, "If I build again the things, which I destroyed, I make myself a trespasser." This is also another cause, lest I should seem by outward fact to allow the thing, which, I am persuaded, is contrary to the sound doctrine, and so should be a stumbling-block unto the weak. But, "Woe be unto him, by whom offence cometh! it were better for him, that a mill-stone were hanged about his neck, and he cast into the midst of the sea."

Latimer. Except the Lord help me, ye say. Truth it is. For "without me (saith he) ye can do nothing:" much less suffer death of our adversaries, through the bloody law, now prepared against us.

But it followeth, “If ye abide in me and my words abide in you, ask what you will, and it shall be done for you.” What can be more comfortable? Sir, you make answer yourself so well, that I cannot better it. Sir, I begin now to smell, what you mean by travailing thus with me. You use me, as Bilney did once, when he converted me: pretending as though he would be taught of me, he sought ways and means to teach me, and so do you. I thank you, therefore, most heartily. For indeed you minister armour unto me, whereas I was unarmed before and unprovided, saving that I give myself to prayer for my refuge.

Objection II.

Antonius. What is it then, that offendeth you so greatly in the mass, that ye will not vouchsafe once either to hear it or see it? And from whence cometh this new religion upon you? Have not you used in times past to say masses yourself?

Ridley. I confess unto you my fault and ignorance. But know you, that for these matters I have done open penance long ago, both at Paul’s Cross, and also openly in the pulpit at Cambridge, and, I trust, God hath forgiven me this mine offence, for I did it upon ignorance. But, if ye be desirous to know, and will vouchsafe to hear what things do offend me in the mass, I will rehearse unto you those things, which be most clear, and seem to repugn most manifestly against God’s word. And they be these.

The strange tongue; the want of the shewing of the Lord’s death; the breaking of the Lord’s commandment of having a communion; the sacrament is not communicated to all, under both kinds, according to the word of the Lord; the sign is servilely worshipped, for the thing signified; Christ’s passion is injured, forasmuch as this mass sacrifice is affirmed

to remain for the purging of sins. To be short, the manifold superstitions and trifling fondness, which are in the mass and about the same.

Latimer Better a few things well pondered, than to trouble the memory with too much. You shall prevail more with praying, than with studying, though mixtare be best. For so one shall alleviate the tediousness of the other. I intend not to contend much with them in words, after a reasonable account of my faith given; for it shall be but in vain. They will say as their fathers said, when they have no more to say, "We have a law, and by our law he ought to die"—"Be ye stedfast and unmoveable," saith St. Paul. And again, "*Persistite, stand fast.*" And how oft is this repeated, "If ye abide, if ye abide," &c. But we shall be called obstinate, sturdy, ignorant, heady, and what not? So that a man hath need of much patience, having to do with such men.

Objection III.

Antonius. But you know how great a crime it is, to separate yourself from communion or fellowship of the church, or to make a schism or division. You have been reported to have hated the sect of the Anabaptists, and always to have impugned the same. Moreover, this was the pernicious error of Novatus, and of the heretics called Cathari, that they would not communicate with the church.

Ridley. I know that the unity of the church is to be retained by all means, and the same to be necessary to salvation. But I do not take the mass, as it is at this day, for the communion of the church, but for a popish device, whereby both the commandment and institution of our Saviour Christ (for the apt frequenting of the remembrance of his death) is excluded, and the people of God are miserably deluded.

The sect of the Anabaptists, and the heresy of the Novatians, ought of right to be condemned: forasmuch as, without any just or necessary cause, they wickedly separated themselves from the communion of the congregation. For they did not allege, that the sacraments were unduly ministered, but turning away their eyes from themselves, wherewith, according to St. Paul's rule, they ought to examine themselves, and casting their eyes upon others, either ministers or communicants with them, they always reprov'd some thing, for the which they abstained from the communion, as from an unholy thing.

Latimer. I remember, that Calvin beginneth to refute the *Interim* after this sort, with this saying of Hilary: "The name of peace is beautiful, and the opinion of unity is fair, but who doubteth that to be the true and only peace of the church, which is Christ's?" I would you had that little book, there should you see how much is to be given to unity. St. Paul, when he requireth unity, he joineth straight withal, according to Jesus Christ, no further. Diotrophes now of late did ever harp upon unity, unity. Yea, Sir (quoth I), but in verity, not in Popery. Better is a diversity, than an unity in Popery. I had nothing again but scornful jeers, with commandment to the Tower.

Objection IV.

Antonius. But admit, there be in the mass that peradventure might be amended, or at least made better: yea, seeing you will have it so, admit there be a fault, if you do not consent thereto, why do you trouble yourself in vain? Do not you know, both by Cyprian and Austin, that communion of sacraments doth not defile a man, but consent of deeds?

Ridley. If it were any one trifling ceremony, or if

it were some one thing of itself indifferent (although I would wish nothing should be done in the church, which doth not edify the same), yet for the continuance of the common quietness, I could be content to bear it. But forasmuch as things done in the mass tend openly to the overthrow of Christ's institution, I judge that by no means either in word or deed, I ought to consent unto it. As for that, which is objected out of the fathers, I acknowledge it to be well spoken, if it be well understood. But it is meant of them which suppose they are defiled, if any one secret vice be either in the ministers or in them that communicate with them, and is not meant of them which do abhor superstition and wicked traditions of men, and will not suffer the same to be thrust upon themselves or upon the church instead of God's word and the truth of the Gospel.

Latimer. The very marrow-bones of the mass are altogether detestable, and therefore by no means to be borne withal, so that of necessity the mending of it is to abolish it for ever. For, if you take away ablation and adoration, which do hang upon consecration and transubstantiation, the most Papist of them all will not set a button by the mass, as a thing which they esteem not, but for the gain that followeth thereon. For, if the English communion, which of late was used, were as gainful to them as the mass hath been heretofore, they would strive no more for their mass. From thence groweth the grief.

Objection V.

Antonius. Consider in what dangers you cast yourself, if you forsake the church. And you cannot but forsake it, if you refuse to go to mass. For the mass is the sacrament of unity. Without the ark there is no salvation. The church is the ark and Peter's ship. Ye know this saying well enough;

“ He shall not have God to be his Father, which acknowledgeth not the church to be his mother.” Moreover, “ Without the church (saith St. Austin), be the life never so well spent, it shall not inherit the kingdom of heaven.”

Ridley. The holy catholic, or universal church, which is the communion of saints, the house of God, the city of God, the spouse of Christ, the body of Christ, the pillar and stay of the truth; this church I believe, according to the Creed. This church I do reverence and honour in the Lord. But the rule of this church is the word of God, according to which rule, we go forward unto life. And as many as walk according to this rule, I say with St. Paul, “ Peace be upon them and upon Israel, which pertaineth unto God.”

The guide of this church is the Holy Ghost. The marks, whereby this church is known unto me in this dark world, and in the midst of this crooked and froward generation, are these; the sincere preaching of God's holy word, the due administration of the sacraments, charity, and faithful observing of ecclesiastical discipline, according to the word of God. And that church or congregation, which is garnished with these marks, is in very deed that heavenly Jerusalem, which consisteth of those which be born from above. This is the mother of us all. And, by God's grace, I will live and die the child of this church. Forth of this, I grant, there is no salvation, and, I suppose, the residue of the places objected, are rightly to be understood of this church only.

“ In times past (saith Chrysostom) there were many ways to know the church of Christ, that is to say, by good life, by miracles, by chastity, by doctrine, by ministering the sacraments. But from that time, that heresies did take hold of the churches, it is only

known by the Scriptures, which is the true church. They have all things in outward show, which the true church hath in truth. They have temples like unto ours, &c. And in the end concludeth, "Wherefore only by the Scriptures do we know which is the true church."

To that which they say, "The mass is the sacrament of unity;" I answer, the bread which we break, according to the institution of the Lord, is the sacrament of the unity of Christ's mystical body. "For we, being many, are one bread and one body, forasmuch as we all are partakers of one bread." But in the mass the Lord's institution is not observed: "For we be not all partakers of one bread, but one devoureth all, &c." So that (as it is used) it may seem a sacrament of singularity, and of a certain special privilege for one sect of people, whereby they may be discerned from the rest; rather than a sacrament of unity, wherein our knitting together in one is represented.

Latimer. Yea, what fellowship hath Christ with antichrist? Therefore is it not lawful to bear the yoke with Papists. "Come forth from among them, and separate yourselves from them, saith the Lord." It is one thing to be the church indeed, another thing to counterfeit that church. Would God, it were well known, what is the forsaking of the church. In the King's days, that dead is, who was the church of England? The King and his fautors, or mass-mongers in corners? If the King and the fautors of his proceedings, why be not we now the church, abiding in the same proceedings? If clanculary mass-mongers might be of the church, and yet contrary the King's proceedings, why may not we as well be of the church, contrarying the Queen's proceedings?

Not all, that be covered with the title of the church, are the church indeed. "Separate thyself

from them that are such," saith St. Paul. From whom? The text hath before, "If any man follow other doctrine, &c."—"He is puffed up and knoweth nothing, &c." Weigh the whole text, that ye may perceive what is the fruit of contentious disputations. But wherefore are such men said to know nothing, when they know so many things? You know the old verses,

*Hoc est nescire, sine Christo plurima scire;
Si Christum bene scis, satis est, si cætera nescis.*

That is, "This is to be ignorant, to know many things without Christ. If thou knowest Christ well, thou knowest enough, though thou know no more." Therefore would St. Paul know nothing but Jesus Christ crucified, &c. As many as are Papists and mass-mongers, they may well be said to know nothing, for they know not Christ: forasmuch as in their massing they take much away from the benefit and merit of Christ.

Objection VI.

Antonius. That church which you have described unto you is invisible, but Christ's church is visible and known. For else why would Christ have said, "Tell it unto the church?" For he had commanded in vain to go unto the church, if a man cannot tell which is it.

Ridley. The church which I have described is visible: it hath members, which may be seen, and also I have afore declared by what marks and tokens it may be known. But if either our eyes are so dazzled, that we cannot see it, or that Satan hath brought such darkness into the world, that it is hard to discern the church: that is not the fault of the church, but either of our blindness, or of Satan's darkness. But yet in this most deep darkness, there

is one most clear candle, which, of itself alone is able to put away all darkness. “Thy word is a candle unto my feet, and a light unto my steps.” (Psalm 119.)

Objection VII.

Antonius. The church of Christ is a catholic or universal church, dispersed throughout the whole world. This church is the great house of God. In this church are good men and evil mingled together, goats and sheep, corn and chaff. It is the net, which gathereth all kinds of fishes. This church cannot err, because Christ hath promised it his Spirit, which shall bind it unto all truth, and that the gates of hell shall not prevail against it; that he will be with it unto the end of the world. Whatsoever it shall loose or bind upon earth, shall be ratified in heaven, &c. This church is the pillar and stay of the truth: this is it, for the which, St. Austin saith, he believeth the Gospel. But this universal church alloweth the mass, because that more part of the same alloweth it. Therefore, &c.

Ridley. I grant that the name of the church is taken after three divers manners in the Scripture. Sometimes, for the whole multitude of them which profess the name of Christ, of the which they are also named Christians. But, as St. Paul saith of the Jews, “Not every one is a Jew, that is a Jew outwardly, &c. Neither yet all that be of Israel, are counted the seed.” Even so, not every one which is a Christian outwardly, is a Christian indeed. For “If any man have not the Spirit of Christ, the same is none of his.” Therefore that church, which is his body, and of which Christ is the head, standeth only of living stones and true Christians, not only outwardly in name and title, but inwardly in heart and in truth.

But forasmuch as this church (which is the second taking of the church), as touching the outward fellowship, is contained within that great house, and hath with the same outward society of the sacraments, and ministry of the word, many things spoken of that universal church (which St. Austin calleth the mingled church), which cannot truly be understood, but only of that purer part of the church. So that the rule of Tyconius concerning the mingled church, may here well take place. When there is attributed unto the whole church that which cannot agree unto the same, but by reason of the one part thereof; that is, either for the multitude of good men, which is the very true church indeed; or for the multitude of evil men, which is the malignant church and synagogue of Satan.

And there is also the third taking of the church, of the which, although there be seldomer mention in the Scriptures in that signification; yet in the world, even in the most famous assemblies of Christendom, this church hath borne the greatest swing. This distinction presupposed, of the three sorts of churches, it is an easy matter, by a figure called synecdoche, to give to the mingled and universal church, that which cannot truly be understood, but only of the one part thereof.

But if any man will stiffly affirm, that universality doth so pertain unto the church, that whatsoever Christ hath promised to the church, it must needs be understood of that: I would gladly know of the same man, where that universal church was in the time of the patriarchs and prophets; of Noah, Abraham, and Moses (at such times as the people would have stoned him); of Elijah, of Jeremiah; in the times of Christ, and the dispersion of the Apostles; in the time of Arius, when Constantius was em-

peror, and Felix, bishop of Rome, succeeded Liberius?

It is worthy to be noted, that Lira writeth upon Matthew. “The church (saith he) doth not stand in men, by reason of their power or dignity, whether it be ecclesiastical or secular. For many princes and popes and other inferiors have been found to have fallen away from God.” Therefore the church consisteth in those persons in whom is true knowledge and confession of the faith and of the truth. Evil men (as it is in a gloss of the decrees) are in the church in name, and not in deed. And St. Austin, *contra Cresconium grammaticum*, saith, “whosoever is afraid to be deceived by the darkness of this question, let him ask counsel of the same church of it: which church the Scripture doth point out without any doubtfulness.”

All my notes which I have written and gathered out of such authors as I have read in this matter and such-like, are come into the hands of such, as will not let me have the least of all my written books. Wherein I am forced to complain of them unto God: for they spoil me of all my labours, which I have taken in my study these many years. My memory was never good, for help whereof, I have used for the most part to gather out notes of my reading, and so to place them, that thereby I might have had the use of them, when the time required. But who knoweth whether this be God’s will that I should be thus ordered and spoiled of the poor learning I had (as methought) in store, to the intent that I, now destitute of that, should from henceforth learn only to know with Paul, Christ and him crucified? The Lord grant me herein to be a good young scholar, and to learn this lesson so well, that neither death nor life, wealth nor woe, &c. make me ever to forget that. Amen. Amen.

Latimer. I have no more to say in this matter; for you yourself have said all that is to be said. That same vehement saying of St. Austin, "I would not believe the Gospel but for the church," was wont to trouble many men: I remember I have read it well qualified of Philip Melancthon, but my memory is altogether slippery. This it is in effect. The church is not a judge, but a witness. There were in his time, that lightly esteemed the testimony of the church, and the outward ministry of preaching, and rejected the outward word itself, sticking only to their inward revelations. Such rash contempt of the word provoked and drove St. Austin into that excessive vehemence. In the which, after the bare sound of the words, he might seem to such as do not attain unto his meaning, that he preferred the church far before the Gospel, and that the church hath a free authority over the same. But that godly man never thought so. It were a saying worthy to be brought forth against the Anabaptists, which think the open ministry to be a thing not necessary, if they any thing esteemed such testimonies.

I would not stick to affirm, that the more part of the great house, that is to say, of the whole universal church, may easily err. And again, I would not stick to affirm, that it is one thing to be gathered together in the name of Christ, and another thing to come together with a mass of the Holy Ghost going before. For in the first Christ ruleth; in the latter the devil beareth the swing, and how then can any thing be good, that they go about? From this latter shall our six articles come forth again into the light, they themselves being very darkness.

But it is demanded, whether the sounder or better part of the catholic church may be seen of men or no? St. Paul saith, "The Lord knoweth them that are his." What manner of speaking is this, in com-

commendation of the Lord, if we know as well as he who are his? Well, thus is the text, “The sure foundation of God standeth still, and hath this seal: the Lord knoweth them that are his. And let every man, that nameth the name of Christ, depart from iniquity.” Now how many are there of the whole catholic church of England, which depart from iniquity? How many of the noble men, how many of the bishops or clergy, how many of the rich men or merchants, how many of the Queen’s counsellors, yea, how many of the whole realm? In how small room then, I pray you, is the true church within the realm of England? And where is it? And in what state? I had a conceit of mine own, well grounded (as they say) when I began, but now it is fallen by the way.

Objection VIII.

Antonius. General councils represent the universal church, and have this promise of Christ: “Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them.” If Christ be present with two or three, then much more where there is so great a multitude, &c. But in general councils the mass hath been approved and read. Therefore, &c.

Ridley. Of the universal church, which is mingled of good and bad, thus I think: Whensoever they which be chief in it, which rule and govern the same, and to whom the rest of the whole mystical body of Christ doth obey, are the lively members of Christ, and walk after the guiding and rule of his word, and go before the flock towards everlasting life: then, undoubtedly, councils, gathered together of such guides and pastors of the Christian flock, do indeed represent the universal church, and, being so ga-

thered in the name of Christ, they have a promise of the gift and guiding of his Spirit into all truth.

But that any such council hath at any time allowed the mass, such a one as ours was of late, in a strange tongue, and stuffed with so many absurdities, errors, and superstitions; that I utterly deny, and I affirm it to be impossible. For like as there is no agreement between light and darkness, between Christ and Belial; so, surely, superstitions and the sincere religion of Christ, will-worship, and the pure worshipping of God, such as God requireth of his, that is, in spirit and truth, can never agree together.

But ye will say, where so great a company is gathered together, it is not credible, but there be two or three gathered in the name of Christ. I answer, if there be one hundred good, and two hundred bad, forasmuch as the decrees and ordinances are pronounced according to the greater number of the multitude of voices, what can the less number of voices avail? It is a known thing, and a common proverb, " Oftentimes the greater part overcometh the better."

Latimer. As touching general councils, at this present I have no more to say, than you have said. Only I refer you to your own experience, to think of our country parliaments and convocations, how and what ye have there seen and heard. The more part in my time did bring forth the six articles, for then the King would so have it, being seduced of certain. Afterward, the more part did repeal the same, our good Josiah willing to have it so. The same articles now again (alas!) another greater, but worse, part hath restored. O what an uncertainty is this! But after this sort most commonly are man's proceedings. God be merciful unto us! Who shall deliver us from such torments of mind? Therefore is death the best physician, but unto the faithful,

whom she together (and at once) delivereth from all griefs. You must think this written upon this occasion, because you would needs have your paper blotted.

Objection IX.

Antonius. If the matter should go thus, that in general councils men should not stand to the more number of the whole multitude, I mean, of them which ought to give voices, then should no certain rule be left unto the church, by the which controversies in weighty matters might be determined. But it is not to be believed, that Christ would leave his church destitute of so necessary a help and safeguard.

Ridley. Christ, who is the most loving spouse of his espoused church, who also gave himself for it, that he might sanctify it unto himself, did give unto it abundantly all things which are necessary to salvation, but yet so, that the church should declare itself obedient unto him in all things, and keep itself within the bounds of his commandments, and further not to seek any thing, which he teacheth not, as necessary unto salvation. Now further, for determination of all controversies in Christ's religion, Christ himself hath left unto the church not only Moses and the Prophets, whom he willeth his church in all doubts to go unto and ask counsel at: but also the Gospels and the rest of the New Testament. In the which, whatsoever is heard in Moses and the Prophets, whatsoever is necessary to be known unto salvation, is revealed and opened.

So that now we have no need to say, who shall climb into heaven, or who shall go down into the depth, to tell what is needful to be done? Christ hath done both, and hath commended unto us the word of faith, which also is abundantly declared.

unto us in his word written, so that hereafter, if we walk earnestly in his way, to the searching out of his truth, it is not to be doubted, but through the certain benefit of Christ's Spirit, which he hath promised unto his, we may find it, and obtain everlasting life. Should men ask counsel of the dead for the living, saith Isaiah? "Let them go rather to the law and to the testimony," &c. Christ sendeth them, that be desirous to know the truth, unto the Scriptures, saying, "Search the Scriptures." I remember a like thing well spoken of Hierome, "Ignorance of the Scriptures is the mother and cause of all errors." And in another place, as I remember in the same author, "The knowledge of the Scriptures is the food of everlasting life."

But now, methinketh, I enter into a very broad sea, in that I begin to shew either out of the Scriptures themselves, or out of the ancient writers, how much the holy Scripture is of force to teach the truth of our religion. But this is it, that I am now about, that Christ would have the church, his spouse, in all doubts to ask counsel at the word of his Father written, and faithfully left and commended unto it in both Testaments, the Old and the New. Neither do we read that Christ in any place hath laid so great a burden upon the members of his spouse, that he hath commanded them to go to the universal church. "Whatsoever things are written (saith Paul) are written for our learning." And, it is true that "Christ gave unto his church some Apostles, some Prophets, and some Evangelists, some shepherds and teachers, to the edifying of the saints, till we all come to the unity of faith," &c. But, that all men should meet together, out of all parts of the world, to define of the articles of our faith, I neither find it commanded of Christ, nor written in the word of God.

Latimer. There is a diversity betwixt things pertaining to God or faith, and politic or civil matters. For, in the first, we must stand only to the Scriptures, which are able to make us all perfect and instructed unto salvation, if they be well understood. And they offer themselves to be well understood only to them which have good will, and give themselves to study and prayer. Neither are there any men less apt to understand them, than the prudent and wise men of the world. But in the other, that is, in civil or politic matters, oftentimes the magistrates do tolerate a less evil, for avoiding of a greater; as they which have this saying oft in their mouths, "Better an inconvenience than a mischief." And "It is the property of a wise man (saith one) to dissemble many things, and he that cannot dissemble cannot rule." In which saying they betray themselves that they do not earnestly weigh what is just, what is not.

Wherefore, forasmuch as men's laws, if it be but in this respect only, that they be devised by men, are not able to bring any thing to perfection, but are enforced of necessity to suffer many things out of square, and are compelled sometimes to wink at the worst things, saying, they know not how to maintain the common peace and quiet otherwise; they do ordain that the more part shall take place. You know what these kind of speeches mean, "I speak after the manner of men."—"Ye walk after the manner of men."—"All men are liars."—And that of St. Austin, "If ye live after man's reason, ye do not live after the will of God."

Objection X.

Antonius. If ye say, the councils have sometimes erred, or may err, how then should we believe the

catholic church? For the councils are gathered by the authority of the catholic church.

Ridley. From "may be," to "be indeed," is no good argument; but from "being," to "may be," no man doubteth, but it is a most sure argument. But now that councils have sometimes erred, it is too manifest. How many councils were there in the east part of the world, which condemned the Nicene council? And all those which would not forsake the same, they called by a slanderous name (as they thought) Homooousians. Were not Athanasius, Chrysostom, Cyril, Eustachius, men very well learned, and of godly life, banished and condemned as famous heretics, and that by wicked councils? How many things are there in the canons and constitutions of the councils, which the Papists themselves do much dislike? But here, peradventure, one man will say unto me, "We will grant you this in provincial councils, or councils of some one nation, that they may sometimes err, forasmuch as they do not represent the universal church: but it is not to be believed, that the general and full councils have erred at any time."

Here, if I had my books of the councils, or rather such notes as I have gathered out of such books, I could bring something which should serve for this purpose. But now, seeing I have them not, I will recite one place only out of St. Austin, which (in my judgment) may suffice in this matter, instead of many.

"Who knoweth not (saith he) that the holy Scripture is so set before us, that it is not lawful to doubt of it, and that the letters of bishops may be reprov'd by other wiser men's words, and by councils: and that the councils themselves, which are gathered by provinces and countries, do give place

to the authority of the general and full councils ; and that the former general councils are amended by the latter, when as by some experience of things, either that which was shut up is opened, or that which was hid is known." Thus much of Austin.

But I will plead with our Antonian upon matter confessed. Here with us, when papistry reigned, I pray you, how doth that book, which is called "The Bishop's * Book," made in the time of King Henry the Eighth, whereof the Bishop of Winchester is thought either to be the first father, or chief gatherer, how doth it (I say) sharply reprove the Florentine council, in which was decreed the supremacy of the Bishop of Rome, and that with the consent of the Emperor of Constantinople, and of the Grecians? So that in those days our learned ancient fathers and bishops of England did not stick to affirm, that a general council might err.

But, methinketh, I hear another man despising all that I have brought forth, and saying, "These which you have called councils, are not worthy to be called councils, but rather assemblies and conventicles of heretics."—"I pray you, Sir, why do you judge them worthy of so slanderous a name?"—"Because (saith he) they decreed things heretical, contrary to true godliness and sound doctrine, and against the faith of Christian religion." The cause is weighty, for the which they ought of right so to be called. But if it be so, that all councils ought to be despised, which decree any thing contrary to sound doctrine and the true word, which is according to

* This authority of Bishop Ridley for ascribing "The Institution of a Christian Man," principally to the pen of Bishop Gardiner, may be added to what has already been advanced on that subject at the 75th page of the third volume of this publication.
—ED.

godliness : forasmuch as the mass, such as we have had here of late, is openly against the word of God, forsooth it must follow of necessity, that all such councils as have approved such masses, ought of right to be fled and despised, as conventicles and assemblies of men, that stray from the church.

Another man allegeth unto me the authority of the Bishop of Rome, "without which neither can the councils (saith he) be lawfully gathered, neither, being gathered, determine any thing concerning religion." But this objection is only grounded upon the ambitious and shameless maintenance of the Romish tyranny, and the usurped dominion over the clergy, which tyranny we Englishmen long ago by the consent of the whole realm have exploded and abjured. And how rightly we have done it, a little book set forth, *De utraque Potestate*, i. e. "Of both the Powers," doth clearly shew. I grant, that the Romish ambition hath gone about to challenge to itself, and to usurp such a privilege of old time. But the council of Carthage, in the year of our Lord 457, did openly withstand it, and also the council at Milevite, in the which St. Austin was present, did prohibit any appellations to be made to bishops beyond the sea.

Objection XI.

Antonius. St. Austin saith, "The good men are not to be forsaken for the evil, but the evil are to be born withal for the good." Ye will not say (I trow) that in our congregations all be evil.

Ridley. I speak nothing of the goodness or evilness of your congregations, but I fight in Christ's quarrel against the mass, which doth utterly take away and overthrow the ordinance of Christ. Let that be taken quite away, and then the partition of the wall that made the strife shall be broken down.

Now to the place of St. Austin, for, " Bearing with the evil for the good's sake," there ought to be added other words, which the same writer hath expressedly in other places. That is, " If those evil men do cast abroad no seeds of false doctrine, nor lead others to destruction by their example."

Objection XII.

Antonius. It is perilous to attempt any new thing in the church, which lacketh example of good men. How much more perilous is it, to commit any act, unto the which the example of the Prophets of Christ and of the Apostles are contrary. But unto this your act, in abstaining from the church by reason of the mass, the example of the Prophets, of Christ, and of the Apostles, are clean contrary. Therefore, &c.

The first part of the argument is evident, and the second part I prove thus. In the times of the Prophets, of Christ, and of his Apostles, all things were most corrupt, the people were miserably given to superstition, the priests despised the law of God, and yet, notwithstanding, we never read that the Prophets made any schisms or divisions, and Christ himself haunted the temple, and taught in the temples of the Jews. Peter and John went up into the temple at the ninth hour of prayer. Paul, after the reading of the law, being desired to say something to the people, did not refuse to do it. Yea further, no man can shew, that either the Prophets or Christ and his Apostles did refuse to pray together with others, to sacrifice or to be partakers of the sacrament of Moses's law.

Ridley. I grant the former part of your argument, and to the second part I say, that although it contain many true things, as of the corrupt state in the times of the Prophets, of Christ, and the Apostles,

and of the temple being haunted of Christ and his Apostles: yet, notwithstanding the second part of your argument is not sufficiently proved, for ye ought to have proved, that either the Prophets, or Christ, or his Apostles, did in the temple communicate with the people, in any kind of worshipping, which is forbidden by the law of God, or repugnant to the word of God. But that can no where be shewed.

And as for the church, I am not angry with it, and I never refused to go to it, and to pray with the people, to hear the word of God, and to do all other things, whatsoever may agree with the word of God. St. Austin, speaking of the ceremonies of the Jews (I suppose in the epistle *ad Januarium*), although he grant they grievously oppressed that people, both for the number and bondage of the same, yet he calleth them burdens of the law, which were delivered unto them in the word of God, not presumptions of men: which, notwithstanding, if they were not contrary to God's word, might after a sort be borne withal. But now, seeing they are contrary to those things which are in the word of God written, whether they ought to be borne of any Christian or no, let him judge which is spiritual, which feareth God more than man, and loveth everlasting life more than this short and transitory life.

To that which was said, that my fact lacketh example of the godly fathers that have gone before, the contrary is most evident in the history of Tobit. Of whom is said, that when all others went to the golden calves, which Jeroboam, the king of Israel, had made, he himself alone fled all their companies, and got him to Jerusalem unto the temple of the Lord, and there worshipped the Lord God of Israel.

Did not the man of God threaten grievous plagues, both unto the priests of Bethel and to the

altar, which Jeroboam had there made, after his own fantasy? Which plagues king Josiah, the true minister of God, did execute at the time appointed.

And where do we read, that the Prophets or the Apostles did agree with the people in their idolatry? When the people went a whoring with their hill altars, for what cause (I pray you) did the Prophets rebuke the people so much, as for their false worshipping of God, after their own minds, and not after God's word? For what was so much as that was? Wherefore, the false prophets ceased not to malign the true prophets of God, therefore they beat them, they banished them, &c.

How else (I pray you) can you understand that St. Paul allegeth, when he saith, "What concord hath Christ with Belial? Either what part hath the believer with the infidel? Or how agreeth the temple of God with images? For ye are the temples of the living God, as God himself hath said, I will dwell among them, and walk among them, and I will be their God, and they shall be my people: wherefore, come out from among them, and separate yourselves from them (saith the Lord), and touch none unclean thing, so will I receive you, and will be a father unto you, and ye shall be my sons and daughters, saith the Lord Almighty."

Judith, that holy woman, would not suffer herself to be defiled with the meats of the wicked. All the saints of God, which truly feared God, when they have been provoked to do any thing, which they knew to be contrary to God's law, have chosen to die, rather than to forsake the laws of their God. Wherefore the Maccabees put themselves in danger of death, for the defence of the law, yea, and at length died manfully in the defence of the same. "If we do praise (saith St. Austin) the Maccabees, and that with great admiration, because they did

stoutly stand even unto death, for the laws of the country: how much more ought we to suffer all things for our baptism, for the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, &c.?" But the supper of the Lord, such a one (I mean) as Christ cominandeth us to celebrate, the mass utterly abolisheth and corrupteth most shamefully.

Latimer. Who am I, that I should add any thing to this, which you have so well spoken? Nay, I rather thank you, that you have vouchsafed to minister so plentiful armour to me, being otherwise altogether unarmed: saving that he cannot be left destitute of help, which rightly trusteth in the help of God. I only learn to die in the reading of the New Testament, and am ever now and then praying unto my God, that he will be an helper unto me in time of need.

Objection XIII.

Antonius. Seeing you are so obstinately set against the mass, that you affirm, because it is done in a tongue not understood of the people, and for other causes, I cannot tell what, therefore it is not the true sacrament ordained of Christ: I begin to suspect you, that you think not catholicly of baptism also. Is our baptism, which we do use in a tongue unknown to the people, the true baptism of Christ or no? If it be, then doth not the strange tongue hurt the mass. If it be not the baptism of Christ, tell me how were you baptized? Or, whether ye will (as the Anabaptists do), that all which were baptized in Latin, should be baptized again in the English tongue?

Ridley. Although I would wish baptism to be given in the vulgar tongue, for the people's sake, which are present, that they may the better understand their own profession, and also be more able to teach

their children the same ; yet notwithstanding, there is not like necessity of the vulgar tongue in baptism, as in the Lord's supper. Baptism is given to children, who by reason of their age are not able to understand what is spoken unto them, what tongue soever it be. The Lord's supper is and ought to be given to them that are waxen.

Moreover, in baptism which is accustomed to be given to children in the Latin tongue, all the substantial points (as a man would say) which Christ commanded to be done, are observed. And therefore I judge that baptism to be a perfect and true baptism, and that it is not only not needful, but also not lawful for any man so christened to be christened again. But yet, notwithstanding, they ought to be taught the catechism of the Christian faith, when they shall come to years of discretion ; which catechism, whosoever despiseth, or will not desirously embrace, and willingly learn, in my judgment he playeth not the part of a Christian man. But in the Popish mass are wanting certain substantials, that is to say, things commanded by the word of God to be observed in ministration of the Lord's supper, of the which there is sufficient declaration made before.

Latimer. Where you say, " I would wish ;" surely I would wish, that you had spoken more vehemently, and to have said, " It is of necessity, that all things in the congregation should be done in the vulgar tongue, for the edifying and comfort of them that are present." Notwithstanding that the child itself is sufficiently baptized in the Latin tongue.

Objection XIV.

Antonius. Forasmuch as I perceive you are so stiffly (I will not say obstinately) bent, and so wedded to your own opinion, that no gentle exhortations, no wholesome counsels, no other kind of means can call

you home to a better mind ; there remaineth that, which in like cases was wont to be the only remedy against stiffnecked and stubborn persons ; that is, you must be hampered by the laws, and compelled either to obey, whether ye will or no, or else to suffer that which a rebel to the laws ought to suffer. Do you not know, that whosoever refuseth to obey the laws of the realm, betrayeth himself to be an enemy to his country ? Do you not know, that this is the readiest way to stir up sedition and civil war ? It is better that you should bear your own sin, than that, through the example of your breach of the common laws, the common quiet should be disturbed. How can you say, you will be the Queen's true subject, when you do openly profess that you will not keep her laws ?

Ridley. O ! heavenly Father, the Father of all wisdom, understanding, and true strength, I beseech thee, for thy only Son, our Saviour Christ's sake, look mercifully upon me, wretched creature ; and send thine Holy Spirit into my breast, that not only I may understand according to thy wisdom, how this pestilent and deadly dart is to be borne off, and with what answer it is to be beaten back ; but also when I must join to fight in the field for the glory of thy name, that then I, being strengthened with the defence of thy right hand, may manfully stand in the confession of thy faith and of thy truth, and continue in the same unto the end of my life, through the same our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen.

Now to the objection : I grant it to be reasonable, that he which by words and gentleness cannot be made yield to that is right and good, should be bridled by the strait correction of the laws. That is to say, he that will not be subject to God's word, must be punished by the laws. It is true that is commonly said, he that will not obey the Gospel must be

tamed and taught by rigour of the law. But these things ought to take place against him, which refuseth to do that is right and just, according to true godliness, not against him which cannot quietly bear superstition and the overthrow of Christ's institution, but doth hate and detest from his heart such kind of proceedings, and that for the glory of the name of God.

To that which ye say a transgressor of the common laws betrayeth himself to be an enemy of his country, surely a man ought to look unto the nature of the laws, what manner of laws they be, which are broken. For a faithful Christian ought not to think alike of all manner of laws, but that saying ought only truly to be understood of such laws, as be not contrary to God's word. Otherwise, whosoever loveth their country in truth (that is to say in God), he will always judge (if at any time the laws of God and man be the one contrary to the other), that a man ought rather to obey God than man. And they that think otherwise, and pretend a love to their country, forasmuch as they make their country to fight, as it were, against God, in whom consisteth the only state of the country, surely, I do think, that such are to be judged most deadly enemies and traitors to their country. For they that fight against God, which is the safety of their country, what do they else, but go about to bring upon their country a present ruin and destruction? But they that do so, are worthy to be judged enemies to their country, and be traitors of the realm. Therefore, &c.

But this is the readiest way (ye say) to stir up sedition, to trouble the quiet of the commonwealth; therefore are these things to be repressed in time by force of laws. Behold, Satan doth not cease to practise his old guiles and accustomed subtilties.

He hath ever this dart in a readiness to whirl against his adversaries, to accuse them of sedition, that he may bring them (if he can) in danger of the higher powers, for so hath he by his ministers always charged the prophets of God.

Ahab said unto Elias, Art thou he that troubleth Israel? The false prophets also complained to their princes of Jeremy, that his words were seditious, and not to be suffered. Did not the Scribes and Pharisees falsely accuse Christ as a seditious person, and one that spake against Cæsar? Did they not at the last cry, "If thou let this man go, thou art not Cæsar's friend?" The orator Tertullus, how doth he accuse Paul before Felix, the high deputy? "We have found this man (saith he) a pestilent fellow, and a stirrer of sedition unto all the laws in the whole world, &c."

But I pray you, were these men as they were called seditious persons, Christ, Paul, and the Prophets? God forbid! But they were of false men falsely accused. And wherefore, I pray you, but because they reprov'd before the people their guiles, superstitions, and deceits? And when the other could not bear it, and would gladly have had them taken out of the way, they accused them as seditious persons, and troublers of the commonwealth, that being by this means made hateful to the people and princes, they might the more easily be snatched up to be tormented and put to death. But how far they were from all sedition, their whole doctrine, life, and conversation doth well declare. For that which was objected last of all, that he cannot be a faithful subject to his prince, which professeth openly, that he will not observe the laws which the prince hath made, here I would wish that I might have an indifferent judge, and one that feareth God, to whose judgment in this cause I promise and will stand.

I answer therefore, a man ought to obey his prince but in the Lord, and never against the Lord. For he that knowingly obeyeth his prince against God, doth not a duty to the prince, but is a deceiver of the prince, and an helper unto him, to work his own destruction. He is also unjust, which giveth not the prince that which is the prince's, and to God that which is God's.

Here cometh to my remembrance that notable saying of Valentinianus the Emperor, for choosing the Bishop of Milan; "Set him (saith he) in the Bishop's seat, to whom if we (as men) do offend at any time, we may submit ourselves." Polycarp, the most constant martyr, when he stood before the chief ruler, and was commanded to blaspheme Christ, and to swear by the fortune of Cæsar, &c. he answered with a mild spirit, "We are taught (saith he) to give honour unto princes, and those powers which be of God, but such honour as is not contrary to God's religion."

Hither unto ye see, good father, how I have in words only made (as it were) a flourish before the fight, which I shortly look after, and how I have begun to prepare certain kinds of weapons to fight against the adversaries of Christ, and to muse with myself how the darts of the old enemy may be borne off, and after what sort I may smite him again with the sword of the Spirit. I learn also hereby to be in use with armour, and to assay how I can go armed.

In Tyndale, where I was born, not far from the Scottish borders, I have known my countrymen watch night and day in their harness, such as they had, that is, in their jacks, and their spears in their hands (you call them northern gods), specially when they had any privy warning of the coming of the Scots. And, so doing, although at every such bickering, some of them spent their lives, yet by such

means like pretty men they defended their country. And those that so died, I think, that before God they died in a good quarrel, and their offspring and progeny all the country loved them the better for their fathers' sakes.

And in the quarrel of Christ our Saviour, in the defence of his own divine ordinances, by the which he giveth unto us life and immortality, yea, in the quarrel of faith and Christian religion, wherein resteth our everlasting salvation, shall we not watch? Shall we not go always armed, ever looking when our adversary (which like a roaring lion seeketh whom he may devour) shall come upon us, by reason of our slothfulness? Yea, and woe be unto us, if he can oppress us at unawares, which undoubtedly he will do, if he find us sleeping.

Let us awake therefore, I say, and let us not suffer our house to be broken up. Resist the devil (saith St. James), and he will fly from you. Let us therefore resist him manfully, and taking the cross upon our shoulders, let us follow our captain, Christ, who by his own blood hath dedicated and hallowed that way, which leadeth unto the Father, that is, to the light which no man can attain, the fountain of everlasting joys.

Let us follow, I say, whither he calleth and allureth us, that after all these afflictions, which last but for a moment, whereby he trieth our faith, as gold by the fire, we may everlastingly reign and triumph with Him in the glory of his Father, and that through the same our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom with the Father and the Holy Ghost be all honour and glory now and for ever. Amen. Amen.

Good father, forasmuch as I have determined with myself to pour forth these my cogitations into your bosom, here, methinketh, I see you suddenly lifting up your head towards heaven, after your

manner, and then looking upon me with your prophetic countenance, and speaking unto me with these or like words: "Trust not, my son (I beseech you, vouchsafe me the honour of this name, for in so doing I shall think myself both honoured and loved of you), trust not, I say, my son, to these word-weapons, for the kingdom of God is not in words, but in power. And remember always the words of the Lord, "Do not imagine aforehand, what and how you will speak, for it shall be given you even in that same hour, what ye shall speak: for it is not ye that speak, but the Spirit of our Father, which speaketh in you."

I pray you, therefore, father, pray for me, that I may cast my whole care upon him, and trust upon him in all perils. For I know and am surely persuaded, that whatsoever I can imagine or think aforehand, it is nothing, except he assist me with his Spirit, when the time is. I beseech you, therefore, father, pray for me, that such a complete harness of the Spirit, such boldness of mind, may be given unto me, that I may, out of a true faith, say with David, "I will not trust in my bow, and it is not my sword that shall save me. For he hath no pleasure in the strength of an horse, &c." But the Lord's delight is in them that fear him, and put their trust in his mercy. I beseech you, pray, pray, that I may enter this fight, only in the name of God, and that when all is past, I, being not overcome, through his gracious aid, may remain and stand fast in him, till that day of the Lord in the which to them that obtain the victory shall be given the lively manna to eat, and the triumphant crown for evermore.

Now, father, I pray you, help me to buckle on this gear a little better: for you know the deepness of Satan, being an old soldier, and you have collared with him ere now, blessed be God that hath

ever aided you so well. I suppose he may well hold you at the bay, but truly he will not be so willing (I think) to join with you, as with us younglings. Sir, I beseech you, let your servant read this my babbling unto you, and now and then, as it shall seem unto you best, let your pen run on my book; spare not to blot my paper, I give you good leave.

As touching this Antonius, whom I have here made mine adversary, lest peradventure any imagination might carry you amiss, and make you think otherwise than I meant, know you that I have alluded to one Antonius, a most cruel Bishop of the Arians, and a very violent persecutor of them that were catholic, and of a right judgment. To whom Hunericus, a tyrant of the Vandals, knowing Antonius's fierceness, committed his whole authority, that he should either turn the Christians which believed well, unto his false religion, or else to punish and torment them at his pleasure.

Which thing Antonius took in hand to do, and executed the same against two most godly bishops, and most constant in the doctrine, which was according to godliness. The name of the one was Eugenius, an aged man, the other was named Habet Deum. This latter, as it appeared by history of the persecutions of the Vandals, hath the tyrant and the false counterfeit Bishop desired much to have turned unto their most pestilent heresy. This Habet Deum was Bishop of the city Tamallane, where Antonius had been Bishop before. And when Antonius had vexed him (as the story saith), with divers and sundry persecutions, and had found the soldier of Christ always constant in his confession, it is said, that at length, in a great rage, he swore and said to his friends on this wise: "If I make him not of my religion, then am I not Antonius." It is incredible what harms and troubles he put him to,

what cruelty he practised against him, and it were too long now to describe the same unto you. But the man of God stood always unmoveable, and in the confession of Christ's faith remained ever unto the end the constant and unfoiled soldier of Christ. This good Bishop Habet Deum, I pray to God our heavenly Father, to give me grace, that I may faithfully follow, through our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen.

Latimer. Sir, I have caused my man not only to read your armour unto me, but also to write it out, for it is not only no bare armour, but also well buckled armour. I see not how it could be better. I thank you even from the bottom of my heart for it, and my prayer you shall not lack, trusting that ye do the like for me. For indeed *there* is the help, &c. Many things make confusion in memory. And if I were as well learned as was St. Paul, I would not bestow much amongst them, further than to gall them and spurgall too, when and where as occasion were given, and matter come to mind, for the law shall be their sheet anchor, stay, and refuge. Fare you well in Christ.



A
TREATISE
LAMENTING THE
STATE OF ENGLAND,
BY
NICHOLAS RIDLEY,
Bishop and Martyr.

A TREATISE OF BISHOP RIDLEY,

Wherein is contained, first, a Lamentation for the Change of Religion in England; then a Comparison between the Doctrine of the Gospel and the Romish Religion: with wholesome Instructions in the End to all Christians, how to behave themselves in Time of Trial.

(Printed from the Third Volume of the Book of Martyrs. By JOHN FOX.)

ALAS! what misery is thy church brought unto (O Lord) at this day? Where of late the word of the Lord was truly preached, was read and heard in every town, in every church, in every village; yea, and almost every honest man's house: alas! now it is exiled, and banished out of the whole realm. Of late who was not taken for a lover of God's word, for a reader, for a ready hearer, and for a learner of the same? And now (alas!) who dare bear any open countenance towards it, but such as are content in Christ's cause, and for his word's sake, to stand to the danger and loss of all that they have?

Of late there was to be found, of every age, of every degree and kind of people, that gave their diligence to learn (as they could) out of God's word the articles of Christian faith, the commandments of God, and the Lord's prayer: the babes and the young children were taught these things of their parents, of their masters, and weekly of their curates in every church: and the aged folk, which had been brought up in blindness, and in ignorance of those things, which every Christian is bound to know, when otherwise they could not, yet they learned the

same, by often hearing their children and servants repeating the same; but now (alas, and alas again!) the false prophets of antichrist, which are past all shame, do openly preach in pulpits unto the people of God, that the catechism is to be counted heresy: whereby their old blindness is brought home again: for the aged are afraid of the higher powers, and the youth are abashed and ashamed, even of that which they have learned, though it be God's word, and dare no more meddle.

Of late in every congregation throughout all England was made prayer and petition unto God, to be delivered from the tyranny of the Bishop of Rome, and all his detestable enormities: from all false doctrine and heresy: and now, alas! Satan hath persuaded England, by his falsehood and craft, to revoke her old godly prayer, to recant the same, and provoke the fearful wrath and indignation of God upon her own pate.

Of late by strait laws and ordinances, with the consent of the nobles and commonality, and full agreement and council of the prelates and clergy, was banished hence the beast of Babylon, with laws (I say), and with others and all means that then could be devised for so godly a purpose: but now (alas!) all these laws are trodden under foot: the nobles, the commonality, the prelates, and clergy are quite changed, and all those others, though they were made in judgment, justice, and truth, and the matter never so good, do no more hold than a bond of rushes, or of a barley straw; nor public perjury no more feareth them, than a shadow upon the wall.

Of late it was agreed in England of all hands, according to Paul's doctrine and Christ's commandment (as Paul saith plainly), that nothing ought to be done in the church, in the public congregation, but in that tongue which the congregation could un-

derstand, that all might edify thereby, whether it were common prayer, administration of the sacraments, or any other thing belonging to the public ministry of God's holy and wholesome word: but (alas!) all is turned upside down, Paul's doctrine is put apart, Christ's commandment is not regarded: for nothing is heard commonly in the church, but in a strange tongue, that the people do not understand.

Of late all men and women were taught after Christ's doctrine, to pray in that tongue, which they could understand, that they might pray with heart, that which they should speak with their tongue: now (alas!) the unlearned people are brought in that blindness again, to think that they pray, when they speak with their tongues, they cannot tell what, nor whereof their heart is nothing mindful at all, for that it can understand never a whit thereof.

Of late the Lord's supper was duly ministered and taught to be made common, to all that were true Christians, with thanksgiving, and setting forth of the Lord's death and passion, until his returning again, to judge both the quick and dead: but now (alas!) the Lord's table is quite overthrown, and that which ought to be common to all godly, is made private to a few ungodly, without any kind of thanksgiving, or any setting forth of the Lord's death at all, that the people are able to understand.

Of late all that were endued with the light and grace of understanding of God's holy mysteries, did bless God, which had brought them out of that horrible blindness and ignorance, whereby in time being seduced by Satan's subtilties, they believed that the sacrament was not the sacrament, but the thing itself whereof it is a sacrament: that the creature was the Creator; and that the thing which hath neither life nor sense (alas! such was the horrible

blindness), was the Lord himself ; which made the eye to see, and hath given all senses and understanding unto man. But now, alas ! England is returned again like a dog to her own vomit and spewing, and is in a worse case than ever she was : for it had been better never to have known the truth, than to forsake the truth once received and known : and now, not only that light is turned into darkness, and God's grace is received in vain ; but also laws of death are made by high court of parliament, masterfully to maintain by sword, fire, and all kind of violence, that heinous idolatry, wherein that adoration is given unto the lifeless and dumb creature, which is only due unto the everlasting God : yea, they say, they can and do make of bread both man and God, by their transubstantiation. O ! wicked men, and Satan's own brood !

Of late was the Lord's cup at his table distributed, according to his own commandment, by his express words in his Gospel, as well to the laity as to the clergy, which order Christ's church observed so many hundred years after, as all the ancient ecclesiastical writers do testify ; without contradiction of any of them, that can be shewed, unto this day : but now, alas ! not only the Lord's commandment is broken, his cup is denied to his servants, to whom he commanded it should be distributed, but, also, with the same is set up a new blasphemous kind of sacrifice, to satisfy and pay the price of the sins, both of the dead and of the quick, to the great and intolerable contumely of Christ our Saviour, his death, and passion, which was and is the one only sufficient and everlastingly available sacrifice, satisfactory, for all the elect of God, from Adam the first, to the last that shall be born in the end of the world.

Of late the commandment of God, "Thou shalt not make to thyself any graven image, nor any simi-

litude or likeness of any thing in heaven above, or in earth beneath, or in the water under the earth, thou shalt not bow down to them nor worship them:" this commandment of God, I say, was graven almost every where in churches, was learned of every body, both young and old; whereupon images that provoked the simple and ignorant people unto idolatry, as the wise man saith, were taken out of the churches, and straitly forbidden that none should any where, either bow down to them, or worship them: but now, alas! God's holy word is blotted, and razed out of churches, and stocks and stones are set up in the place thereof. God commandeth his word so to be ordered, that it might be had in continual remembrance at all times, and in every place: and on the other side he forbade images and idols, so to be either made or set in any place, where any should bow or worship them: but now, alas! that which God commanded, is not passed upon, and that which he forbiddeth, is masterfully maintained by falsehood and craft, and wickedly upholden.

Of late all ministers that were admitted to the public office and ministry of God's holy word, in their admission made a solemn profession before the congregation, that they should teach the people nothing, as doctrine necessary to attain everlasting salvation, but that which is God's own holy word, or may be thereof grounded without any doubt, whereby vanished and melted away of themselves many vain, yea, wicked traditions of man, as were before the fire: but now at one brunt they are revived, and are in full hope also to return again, in as great strength as ever they have been. And how can any man look for any other thing, but when you have received the head, you must also receive the whole body withal; or else how can the head abide? The head, under Satan, of all mischief, is antichrist, and his

brood ; and the same is he which is the Babylonical beast.

The beast is he, whereupon the whore sitteth. The whore is that city, saith John in plain words, which hath empire over the kings of the earth. This whore hath a golden cup of abominations in her hand, whereof she maketh to drink the kings of the earth, and of the wine of this harlot have all nations drunk ; yea, and kings of the earth have committed abomination with her ; and merchants of the earth, by virtue of her pleasant merchandise, have been made rich.

Now what city is there in the whole world, that, when John wrote, ruled over the kings of the earth ; or what city can be read of in any time, that of the city itself, challenged the empire over the kings of the earth, but only the city of Rome, and that since the usurpation of that See hath grown to her full strength ? And is it not read, that the old and ancient writers understood Peter's former Epistle to be written at Rome, and it to be called of him in the same Epistle, in plain terms, Babylon ? By the abomination thereof, I understand all the whole trade of the Romish religion, under the name and title of Christ, which is contrary to the only rule of all true religion, that is, God's word. What word of God hath that devilish drab, for the maintenance of her manifold abominations, and to set to sale such merchandise : wherewith (alas ! the madness of man) the wicked harlot hath bewitched almost the whole world ? Did not Peter, the very true Apostle of Christ (of whom this stinking strumpet beareth herself so high, but falsely without all just cause), did not he, I say, give all the world warning of her pelf and trash, of her false doctors and apostles (for this whore and beast will be called, *Dominus Apostolicus*, whosoever say nay), after this manner in his

latter Epistle? "There were among the people in times past false prophets, as shall be there among you, in time to come, false teachers, which shall privily bring in pestilent sects, even denying the Lord which hath bought them, and redeemed them, procuring to themselves swift damnation; and many shall follow their damnable ways, by whom the way of truth shall be railed upon, and through covetousness by counterfeit tales or sermons, they shall (saith Peter) make merchandise upon you, &c." And doth not John likewise in his Revelation, after he hath reckoned up a great rabblement of this whore's mystical merchandise, at the last (as though he would knit up all in plain words, without any mist at all, setting out the whore's merchandise) reckon up among the rest, and concludeth saying, and the souls of men too. Whereupon I pray you else rose this true proverb, All things for money are set to sale at Rome? Was not that a worthy commendation of Christ's vicar in earth, that was written of our holy father, one of the Alexanders, a bishop of Rome, thus I ween in Latin :

Vendit Alexander cruces, altaria, Christum,

Vendere jure potest, emerat ille prius.

Alexander our holy father the Pope of Rome,

Selleth for money both right and doom :

And all kind of holiness the holy fathers do not
stick

To set to sale, ready money for to get.

And eke Christ himself he dare be bold,

To chop and change for silver and gold :

And why should any think this to be sore,

For what doth he sell, but that he bought before ?

I grant these verses to be light gear, and the verse is but rude, but (alas!) such conditions were more wicked and lewd, than any wit could express. If

these had been but the faults of one or a few in number, they had been less pernicious, and might have been taken for personal crimes, not to be imputed unto that See : but now (a'as !) the matter is more than evident to all that have godly understanding, that these crimes be grounded upon laws, be established by custom, and set forth by all kind of wicked doctrine, falsehood, and craft : and therefore now are not to be esteemed for any one man's or a few men's personal crimes, but are now by law, custom, and doctrine incorporated into that wicked See ; and maketh indeed the body of the beast, whereupon the abominable whore doth sit.

But you would know, which be those merchandise, which I said this whore setteth forth to sell, for the which all her false prophets, with all their jugglings and crafty glosses, cannot bring one jot of God's word. Surely, surely, they be not only all these abominations which are come into the church of England already (whereof I have spoken somewhat before), but also an innumerable rabblement of abominations and wicked abuses, which now must needs follow : as Popish pardons, pilgrimages, Romish purgatory, Romish masses, *placebo*, *dirige*, with trentals, and *scala cœli*, dispensations, and immunities, from all godly discipline, laws, and good order, pluralities, unions, with a thousand more.

Now shall come in the flattering friars, and the false pardoners, and play their old pranks and knavery ; as they were wont to do. Now you shall have (but of the See of Rome only, and that for money) canonizing of such saints as have stood stout in the Pope's cause, shrining of relics, and from any kind of wickedness (if you will pay well for it), clear absolution from punishment and faults, with thousands of years ; yea, at every poor bishop's hands and suffragan, ye shall have hallowing of churches, chapels,

altars, superaltars, chalices, and of all the whole household stuff and adornment, which shall be used in the church after the Romish guise ; for all these things must be esteemed of such high price, that they may not be done, but by a consecrated bishop only. O Lord, all these things are such as thy Apostles never knew. As for conjuring (they call it hallowing, but it is conjuring indeed) of water and salt, of christening of bells and such-like things, what need I to speak ? For every priest that can but read, hath power (they say) not only to do that, but also such power over Christ's body, as to make God and man, once at the least every day, of a wafer-cake.

After the rehearsal of the said abominations, and remembrance of a number of many more, which (the Lord knoweth) vexeth me to think upon, and were too long to describe : when I consider on the other side the eternal word of God, that abideth for ever, and the undefiled law of the Lord ; which turneth the soul from all wickedness, and giveth wisdom unto the innocent babes : I mean that milk • that is without all guile, as Peter doth call it, that good word of God, that word of truth, which must be graven within the heart, and then is able to save men's souls ; that wholesome seed, not mortal but immortal, of the eternal and everlasting God, whereby the man is born anew, and made the child of God ; that seed of God, whereby the man of God, so being born, cannot sin, as John saith (he meaneth, so long as that seed doth abide in him), that holy Scripture which hath not been devised by the wit of man, but taught from heaven by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, which is profitable to teach, to reprove, to correct, instruct, and give order in all righteousness, that the man of God may be whole and sound, ready to perform every good work : when (I say) I consider this holy and wholesome true

word, that teacheth us truly our bounden duty towards our Lord God in every point, what his blessed will and pleasure is, what his infinite great goodness and mercy is, what he hath done for us, how he hath given his own only dearly-beloved Son to death for our salvation, and by him hath sent us the revelation of his blessed will and pleasure; what his eternal word willeth us both to believe and also to do, and hath for the same purpose inspired the holy Apostles with the Holy Ghost, and sent them abroad into all the world, and also made them, and other disciples of Christ, inspired by the same Spirit, to write, and leave behind them the same things that they taught, which as they did proceed of the Spirit of truth, so by the confession of all them that ever were endued with the Spirit of God, were sufficient to the obtaining of eternal salvation.

And likewise when I consider that all that man doth profess in his regeneration when he is received into the holy catholic church of Christ, and is now to be accounted for one of the lively members of Christ's own body, all that is grounded upon God's holy word, and standeth in the profession of that faith, and obedience of those commandments, which are all contained and comprised in God's holy word: and furthermore, when I consider whom our Saviour Christ pronounced in his Gospel to be blessed, and to whom Moses giveth his benedictions in the law; what ways, the law, the Prophets, the Psalms, and all holy Scripture, both new and old, do declare to be the ways of the Lord; what is good for man to obtain and abide in God's favour; which is that faith that justifieth before God; and what is that charity, that doth pass and excel all; which be the properties of heavenly wisdom; and which is that undefiled religion that is allowed of God; which things Christ himself called the weightier matters of

the law ; what thing is that which is only available in Christ ; and what knowledge is that, that Paul esteemed so much, that he counted himself only to know ; what shall be the manner of that extreme judgment of the latter day : who shall judge, and by what he shall judge ; and what shall be required at our hands at that fearful day : how all things must be tried by the fire : and that that only shall stand for ever, which Christ's word shall allow : which shall be the judge of all flesh, to give sentence upon all flesh, and every living soul, either of eternal damnation or everlasting salvation, from which sentence there shall be no place or appeal, no wit shall serve to delude, nor no power to withstand or revoke:—

When I consider all these things, and confer to the same again and again, all those ways wherein standeth the substance of the Romish religion (whereof I spake before), it may be evident and easy to perceive, that these two ways, these two religions, the one of Christ, the other of the Romish See, in these latter days, be as far distant the one from the other, as light and darkness ; good and evil ; righteousness and unrighteousness ; Christ and Belial. He that is hard of belief, let him note, and weigh well with himself the places of holy Scripture, which be appointed in the margin whereupon this talk is grounded, and by God's grace he may receive some light. And unto the contemner I have nothing now to say, but to rehearse the saying of the Prophet Isaiah, which Paul spake to the Jews in the end of the Acts of the Apostles. After he had expounded unto them the truth of God's word, and declared unto them Christ, out of the law of Moses and the Prophets, from morning to night, all the day long, he said unto them that would not believe: " Well (said he) spake the Holy Ghost unto our fathers, saying :

Go unto this people and tell them : ye shall hear with your ears, and not understand, and seeing, you shall behold, and not see the thing, for the heart of this people is waxed gross and dull, and with their ears they are hard of hearing, and they have shut together their eyes, that they should not see, nor hear with their ears, nor understand with their hearts, that they might return, and I should heal them, saith the Lord God."

Alas ! England, alas ! that this heavy plague of God should fall upon thee. Alas ! my dearly beloved country, what thing is it now that may do thee good ? Undoubtedly thy plague is so great, that it is utterly incurable, but by the bottomless mercy, and infinite power of Almighty God. Alas ! my dear country, what hast thou done, that thou hast thus provoked the wrath of God, and caused him to pour out his vengeance upon thee, for thine own deserts ? Canst thou be content to hear thy faults told thee ? Alas ! thou hast heard oft, and wouldest never amend. England, thy faults of all degrees and sorts of men, of magistrates, of the ministers, and of the common people, were never more plainly told, since thou barest that name, than thou didst hear them of late, even before the magistrates, in King Edward's days, but thou heardest them only, and didst amend never a whit. For even of thy greatest magistrates, some (the King's Highness then, that innocent, that godly-hearted and puissant young Christian Prince excepted) evermore unkindly and ungently, against those that went about most busily and most wholesomely to cure their sore backs ; spurned privily, and would not spare to speak evil of them, even unto the prince himself, and yet would they towards the same preachers outwardly bear a jolly countenance and a fair face.

I have heard that Cranmer, and another whom I

will not name, were both in high displeasure, the one for shewing his conscience secretly, but plainly and fully, in the Duke of Somerset's cause, and both of late, but specially Cranmer, for repugning as they might against the late spoil of the church goods, taken away only by commandment of the higher powers, without any law, or order of justice, and without any request of consent of them, to whom they did belong. As for Latimer, Lever, Bradford, and Knox, their tongues were so sharp, they ripped in so deep in their galled backs, to have purged them (no doubt) of that filthy matter, that was festered in their hearts, of insatiable covetousness, of filthy carnality and voluptuousness, of intolerable ambition and pride, of ungodly loathsomeness to hear poor men's causes, and to hear God's word, that those men, of all other, these magistrates could never abide. Others there were, very godly men, and well learned, that went about by the wholesome plasters of God's word, howbeit after a more soft manner of handling the matter; but (alas!) all sped in like. For all that could be done of all hands, their disease did not minish, but daily did increase, which (no doubt) is no small occasion in that state, of the heavy plague of God, that is poured upon England this day.

As for the common sort of other inferior magistrates, as judges of the laws, justices of the peace, serjeants, common lawyers, it may be truly said of them, as of the most part of the clergy, of curates, vicars, parsons, prebendaries, doctors of the law, archdeacons, deans, yea, and I may say, of bishops also, I fear me, for the most part, although I doubt not but God had and hath ever, whom he in every state knew, and knoweth to be his, but for the most part (I say), they were never persuaded in their hearts, but from the teeth forward, and for the king's sake,

in the truth of God's word ; and yet for all these did dissemble, and bear a copy of a countenance, as if they had been sound within.

And this dissimulation Satan knew well enough, and therefore desired, and hath ever gone about, that the high magistrates by any manner of means, might be deceived in matters of religion, for then he being of counsel with the dissimulation in the worldly, knew well enough that he should bring to pass, and rule all even after his own will.

Hypocrisy and dissimulation, Saint Hierom doth call well a double wickedness, for neither it loveth the truth (which is one great evil), and also falsely it pretendeth to deceive the simple for another thing. This hyprocrisy and dissimulation with God in matters of religion (no doubt) hath wholly also provoked the anger of God. And as common people, although there were many good, where they were well and diligently taught, yet (God knoweth) a great number received God's true word and high benefits with unthankful hearts. For it was great pity, and a lamentable thing, to have seen in many places the people so loathsomely and so unreligiously to come to the holy communion, and to receive it accordingly, and to the common prayers, and other divine service, which were according to the true vein of God's holy word, in all points so godly and wholesomely set forth, in comparison of that blind zeal, and indiscreet devotion, which they had aforesometimes to those things, wherefore they understood never one whit, nor could be edified by them any thing at all.

And again, as for alms deeds, which are taught in God's word (whereby we are certain that God is pleased with them, and doth and will require such at our hands, which are a part of true religion, as St. James saith, and such as he saith himself, he setteth more by than by sacrifice, as to provide for the father-

less, infants and orphans, for the lame, aged, and impotent poor needy folk, and to make public provision that the poor that might labour, should have wherewith to labour upon, and so be kept from shameful beggary and stealing in these works) : I say how wayward were many, in comparison (I mean) of that great prodigality, whereby in times past they spared not to spend upon flattering friars, false pardons, painting and gilding of stocks and stones, to be set up and honoured in churches ; plainly against God's word. And yet because no place is to be defrauded of their just commendations, London, I must confess, for godly works, in Sir Richard Dobs, knight, then lord mayor, his year, began marvellous well : the Lord grant the same may so likewise persevere, continue, yea, and increase to the comfort and relief of the needy and helpless ; that was so godly begun. Amen.

All these things do minister matter of more mourning, and bewailing the miserable state that now is ; for by this it may be perceived, how England has deserved this just plague of God. And also it is greatly to be feared that those good things, whatsoever they were, that had their beginning in the time when God's word was so freely preached, now, with the exile and banishment of the same, will depart again.

But to return again to the consideration of this miserable state of Christ's church in England, and to leave further and more exquisite searching of the causes thereof, unto God's secret and unsearchable judgments, let us see what is best now to be done for Christ's little flock. This is one maxim and principle in Christ's law : He that denieth Christ before men, him shall Christ deny afore his Father. and all his angels of heaven. And therefore every one that looketh to have Christ our Saviour everlasting life,

let him prepare himself so, that he deny not his master Christ, or else he is but a castaway and a wretch, howsoever he be counted or be taken here in the world.

Now then seeing the doctrine of antichrist is returned again into this realm, and the higher powers (alas!) are so deceived and bewitched, that they are persuaded it to be true, and Christ's true doctrines to be error and heresy, and the old laws of antichrist are allowed to return with the power of their father again: what can be hereafter looked for by reason, to the man of God, and true Christian abiding in this realm, but extreme violence of death, or else to deny his Master?

I grant the hearts of princes are in God's hands, and whithersoever he will, he can make them to bow: and also that Christian princes in old time used a more gentle kind of punishment, even to them that were heretics indeed, as degradation, and deposition out of their rooms and offices; exile, and banishment out of their dominions and countries; and also (as it is read) the true bishops of Christ's church were sometime intercessors for the heretics unto princes, that they would not kill them, as is read of St. Austin. But as yet antichrist's kingdom was not so erected at that time, nor is now accustomed so to order them, that will not fall down and worship the beast and his image, (but even as all the world knoweth,) after the same manner that both John and Daniel have prophesied before, that is, by violence of death: and Daniel declared farther, that the kind of death accustomed should be by sword, fire, and imprisonment. Therefore if thou, O man of God, dost purpose to abide in this realm, prepare and arm thyself to die: for both by antichrist's accustomed laws, and these prophecies, there is no appearance or likelihood of any other thing, except thou wilt deny

thy Master Christ, which is the loss at the last, both of body and soul, unto everlasting death. Therefore, my good brother or sister in Christ, whatsoever thou be, to thee that canst, and mayest so do, that counsel that I think is the best safeguard for thee, both for thy body, and most surely for thy soul's health, is that which I shall shew thee hereafter. But first I warn thee to understand me, to speak to him or her, which be not in captivity, or called already for to confess Christ, but are at liberty abroad.

My counsel (I say) therefore is this, to fly from the plague, and get thee hence. I consider not only the subtleties of Satan, and how he is able to deceive by his false persuasions (if it were possible) even the chosen of God, and also the great frailty, which is oftentimes more in a man, than he doth know in himself, which in the time of temptation, then will utter itself—I do not only consider these things (I say), but that our Master Christ, whose life was and is a perfect rule of the Christian man's life, that he himself avoided oftentimes the fury and madness of the Jews, by departing from the country and place.

Paul likewise, when he was sought in Damascus, and the gates of the city were laid in wait for him, was conveyed by night, being let down in a basket out of a window over the wall: and Elias, the prophet, fled the persecution of wicked Jezabel: and Christ our Saviour saith in the Gospel, When they persecute you in one city, flee unto another: and so did many good, great, learned, and virtuous men of God, which were great and stout champions nevertheless, and stout confessors and maintainers of Christ and his truth, in due time and place. Of such was the great clerk Athanasius. But this is so plain to be lawful by God's word, and examples of holy men, that I need not to stand in it: having this for

my ground, I say to thee, O man of God, this seemeth to me to be the most sure way for thy safeguard, to depart and fly far from the plague, and that swiftly also: for truly, before God, I think that the abomination that Daniel prophesied of so long before, is now set up in the holy place. For all anti-christ's doctrine, laws, rights, and religion, contrary to Christ, and the true serving and worshipping of God, I understand to be that abomination: therefore now is the time in England for those words of Christ, Now then (saith Christ) let those that be in Judea fly to the mountains. Then (saith he)—mark this word (*then*), for truly I am persuaded, and I trust by the spirit of God, that this (*then*) is commanded—*then* (saith Christ) they that be in Jewry, let them flee into the mountains, and he that is on the house-top, let him not come down to take away any thing out of his house; and he that is abroad in the field, let him not return to take his clothes. Woe be to the women who are with child, and to them that give suck; but pray (saith Christ) that your flight be not in winter, or on the Sabbath-day.

These words of Christ are mystical, and therefore have need of interpretation. I understand all those to be in Jewry spiritually, which truly confess one true living God, and the whole truth of his word, after the doctrine of the Gospel of Christ. Such are they whom Christ here biddeth, in the time of the reign of antichrist's abominations, to fly unto the mountains: which signifieth places of safeguard, and all such things which are able to defend from the plague: that he biddeth him that is in the house-top, not come down; and him that is in the field, not to return to take with him his clothes—he meaneth that they should speed them to get them away betimes, lest in their tarrying, and trifling about worldly provisions, they be trapped in the snare

ere ever they be aware, and caught by the back, and for gain of small worldly things, endanger and cast themselves into great perils of more weighty matters. And where he saith, Woe be to those women who are with child, and to them that give suck : women great with child, and nigh to their lying down, and to be brought to bed, are not able to travel : nor also those women, which are brought to bed, and now give their babes suck. By these therefore Christ spiritually understandeth all such as be in extreme danger, which this word (woe) signifieth : all such (I say) as are so letted by any manner of means, that they no ways be able to fly from the plague. And where Christ saith, Pray you that your flight be not in the winter, nor on the Sabbath-day : in winter, the common course of the year teacheth us, that the ways be foul, and therefore it is a hard thing then to take a far journey, for many incommodities and dangers of the way in that time of the year : and on the Sabbath-day it was not lawful to journey, but a little way. Now Christ therefore, meaning that we should have need, both to speed our journey quickly, which cannot be done in the winter, for the incommodities of the ways, and also to go far, which cannot be done on the Sabbath-day ; he biddeth us therefore pray that our flight be not in winter, nor on the Sabbath-day : that is, to pray that we may fly in time, and also far enough from the danger of the plague. Now the causes why we should fly follow in the same place of St. Matthew's Gospel, which I now pass over : thou mayest read them there.

And in the eighteenth chapter of the Revelation, the angel is said to have cried mightily with a loud voice : Fly, my people, out of Babylon, lest you be infected with her faults, and so be made partners of her plagues : for her offences and sins are grown so

great, that they swell and are come unto the heavens: certainly the time doth approach, and the Lord's day is at hand. Hear (I beseech you) also holy Paul, that blessed Apostle: he plainly forbiddeth us to join or couple ourselves with the unfaithful; for what fellowship can there be (saith he) of righteousness with unrighteousness; what company hath light with darkness; or what agreement hath Christ with Belial; or what part hath the faithful with the unfaithful; or how doth the temple of God agree with images or idols? for you are the temple of the living God: as God hath said, I will walk and dwell in them; I will be their God, and they shall be my people: wherefore depart from amongst them, and get you from them (saith the Lord), and touch no unclean thing: and I will receive you; and be to you in the stead of your father, and you shall be unto me, as my sons and daughters, saith the Almighty Lord.

This counsel to depart the realm, I do not marvel if it do seem to divers (even of them, I mean, that bear favour to Godward) diversely. Many (I trust) that be learned shall think the counsel good. Others there be peradventure, that will think it rather a thing to be more tolerable, and that it may be indeed by God's word lawfully done, rather than to be counselled to be done; for they will peradventure say, we should counsel a man always to do that, which is best of all, and of most perfection: but boldly in Christ's cause to spend a man's life, is best of all, and of most perfection, and to flee it, may seem to smell of cowardness. In many things, that which is best for one at some times, is not best for all at all times, and it is not most perfection, nor meet for a child to covet to run before he can go. I will not here make a discourse in this matter, what might here be objected, and what might be answered.

again : I leave that to the witty and eloquent men of the world.

This is my mind, which I would thou shouldst know, O man of God, as I would wish ; and I do pray to Almighty God it may be, that every true Christian, either brother or sister (after they be called, and brought into the wrestling place, to strive in Christ's cause for the best game, that is, to confess the truth of the Gospel, and of the Christian faith, in hope of everlasting life), should not shrink, not relent one inch, or give back, whatsoever shall befall, but to stand to their tackle, and stick by it even unto death, as they will Christ shall stick by them at the latter day : so likewise, I dare not wish nor counsel any, either brother or sister of their own swing, to start up into the stage, or to cast themselves either before, or farther in danger than time and need shall require. For undoubtedly when God seeth his time, and his pleasure is, that his glory shall be set forth, and his church edified by thy death and confession, means shall be found by his fatherly universal providence, that thou, without thine own presumptuous provocation, shalt be lawfully called to do thy feat, and to play thy part. The miserable end that one Quintus came unto, may be a warning, and a fearful example for all men to beware of presumption and rashness in such things (as Eusebius writeth in Eccles. Historia) for evermore.

But a third sort of men there be, which also will be counted favourers of God's word, and are (I fear) in number far more, and worse to be persuaded to that which is the godly mean : I mean of such as will peradventure say or think, that my former counsel, which was to flee the infection of the anti-christian doctrine, by departing out of the realm, is more than needeth, and other ways and means may be found, both to abide, and also to be clear out of

danger of the foresaid plague ; if that could be found both to abide, and also to be clear out of danger of the aforesaid plague, truly agreeable to God's word, I would be as glad to hear it (God is my witness) as who is the other. Yes, peradventure, will some say, thus it may be. Thou mayest keep thyself, thy faith, and thy religion close to thyself, and inwardly and privately worship God in spirit and truth, and outwardly see thou be no open medler, nor talker, nor transgressor of common order : so mayest thou be suffered in the commonwealth, and yet use thy religion without offence of thy conscience.

In other countries somewhere this peradventure might be used ; but in England what shall be, God wot ; but it was never yet, so far as ever I have known or heard. And also how can it be, but either thou must transgress the common order, and the Romish laws and customs, which have been used in England, in times past of Popery, and now (it is certain) they return again : I say, thou mayest either be a breaker of these rites, laws and customs, and so bewray thyself, or else if thou be indeed a man of God, thou shalt offend thy conscience ; for in observing of them, thou shalt be compelled to break God's laws, which is the rule of conscience to the man of God. For how canst thou resort every holy day to the church, and bear a face to worship the creature for the Creator, as thou must do, and peradventure confess it too with thy mouth, and to sprinkle thyself with thy conjured water ?

Thou must be contributor also to the charges of all their popery, as of books of antichrist's service, of lights of the rood-loft, of the sepulchre, for setting up and painting of images (nay indeed of idols), and thou must bear a face to worship them also, or else thou must be had by the back. Thou must serve their turn, to give the holy loaves (as they call

it), which is nothing else but a very mockery of the Lord's holy table. Thou must be a contributor to the charges of all the disguised apparel, that the popish sacrificing priest, like unto Aaron, must play his part in. Yea, when the pardoner goeth about, or the flattering friar to beg for the maintenance of superstition, except thou do as thy neighbours do, look not long to live in rest. If any of the household die, if thou wilt not pay money for ringing and singing, for requiem, masses, dirige, and commendations, and such-like trumpery of the antichristian religion, thinkest thou that thou shalt be reckoned for a catholic man, or for amicus Cæsaris? A hundred things more may be reckoned, and many of more weight, and of more evident superstition and idolatry, than some of these which I have now rehearsed, which God knoweth be ill enough: but these are enough to declare, and to set before thine eyes the thing that I intend; that is, if thou abide and wilt dwell in England, thou must either do these, and many other more contrary to God's word, which forbiddeth not only the thing which is evil, but also saith, Abstain from all things that have any appearance of evil: or else thou wilt not do them, how thou canst live in England in rest safe from the stake, truly I cannot tell.

But peradventure (as a man is ready to find and invent some colour to cloke his conscience, to do that thing that his heart desireth) thou wilt say, Though at any time I shall be forced to do any of these things and such-like, yet will I have no confidence in them, but outwardly with my body; I will keep mine heart unto God, and will not do that of mine own mind willingly, neither but to avoid another inconvenience: I trust therefore God will hold me excused, for he shall have my heart—what can I do more?

O my friend, beware for God's sake, and know that the subtleties of Satan are deep. He that is not able by God's word to perceive them, is heavily laden ; pray therefore with David : Lord, let me not have a mind to invent excuses for to cloke my sin. Examine, my dear friend, these thy wily ways with the word of God, and if they do agree, thou mayest use them : if not, know, though they may seem never so fine and goodly, yet indeed they be of Satan's brood. God's word is certain, that forbiddeth to worship the creature for the Creator, for that is heinous idolatry, and against the first commandment of God. And it is also against the second commandment of the first table to bow down, or to do worship unto any images of God, or of any other thing : and God's word requireth not only the belief of the heart, but also the confession of the mouth. And to bear part of the charges, to the maintenance of things ungodly, what is that, but, in thy so doing, a consent to the thing done ? Now consenters and the doers, God's word accounteth to be guilty both. And it is not lawful by St. Paul's doctrine, which was inspired him by the Spirit of God, to do ill, that thereof the thing which is good may come.

Thy heart (thou sayest) God shall have, and yet will suffer thy body to do the thing that God doth abhor. Beware, O man ; take heed what thou sayest. Man may be deceived, but no man may deceive God, for he is called, and is truly, the searcher of the heart. Now, to give God thy heart, is to give him thy whole heart, to love him, to dread him, and to trust in him above all other things. He that hath my commandments (saith Christ), and observeth and keepeth them, it is he that loveth me : and to dread God above all other, is rather willingly to incur the danger and peril of all fearful things, than willingly to do that thing which is contrary to

his blessed will and commandment : and to trust in him above all things, is assuredly to trust to his promise of his reward, and of his tuition, and of his goodness and mercy, and to prefer that above all things in the world, seem they never so strong, so wise, or so good. Now how canst thou say truly, that God hath thy heart after this manner of sort (which is to have thy heart indeed) when thy deeds do declare far another thing ? Thy body, O man, is God's, and all the parts thereof, even as thy soul is : he made them both, and Christ with his blood redeemed them both, and is Lord of both, for he hath bought them both dearly ; and darest thou suffer any part of either of them to do service to Satan ? Surely in so doing, thou committest sacrilege and dost rob God ; thou defilest the lively temple of the living God, if thou suffer thy body to do Satan's service. Do you not know (saith St. Paul) that your body is a lively temple of God ? And may a man then take and use any part thereof but in the service of God ? No surely, it is not lawful so to do for the man of God, neither with hand, tongue, nor foot, nor any part of the whole body.

Doth not Paul command to the Romans, which pertaineth to every Christian soul : As you have in times past (saith he) given your members to do service unto uncleanness and wickedness, from one wickedness to another : so now give your members to do service unto righteousness, that you may be sanctified. And I pray thee, good brother, what dost thou think is to bear the mark of the beast in the forehead, and in the hand, that St. John speaketh of ? I know we ought warily to speak of God's mysteries, which he shewed by the spirit of prophesying to his servant John ; yet to read them with reverence, and to pray for the same so much as God knoweth is necessary for our time to know, I think it necessary

and good. Wherefore what I suppose is to bear the beast's mark, I will tell thee, and commit the judgment of mine interpretation, as in all other things, to the spiritual man. I suppose he beareth the beast of Babylon's mark in his forehead, which is not ashamed of the beast's ways, but will profess them openly to set forth his master the beast Abaddon. And likewise he beareth his mark in his hand, that will and doth practise the works of the beast with his power and hand.

And likewise I will not let to tell thee, what I think to be signed in the forehead for the servant of God is, whereof John also speaketh, reckoning up many thousands so to have been signed of every tribe: I suppose he is signed in the forehead for the servant of God, whom God hath appointed of his infinite goodness, and hath given him grace and strength, stoutly to confess him and his truth before the world. And to have grace and strength to confess Christ, and the doctrine of the cross, and to lament and mourn for the abominations of antichrist, I suppose is to be signed with Tau, whereof Ezekiel the prophet doth speak. Thus I suppose these prophecies are spiritually to be understood: and to look for other corporal marks, to be seen in men's foreheads, or in their hands, is nothing else but to look that there should come some brute beast out of Babylon, or some elephant, leopard, lion, or camel, or such other monstrous beast with ten horns, that should do all the wonderful things spoken in John; and yet of a beast speaketh John; but I understand him to be called, not for that he shall be any such brute beast, but for that he is, and shall be the child of perdition, which for his cruelty and beastly manners is well called a beast.

The carnal Jews knew that there was a promise made, that Elias should come before Christ the

Messiah, the anointed of God, to prepare his ways : they knew also that there was a promise of Messiah, that he should come and be a king, and reign in the house of David for evermore ; but they understood all so grossly and so carnally, that they neither knew Elias nor Messiah, when they came, for they looked for Elias to come down from heaven in his own person, and for Messiah to come and reign in worldly pomp, power, riches, and glory : when as the prophecies of both were spiritually to have been understood : of Elias that he should not come in person, but in spirit, that is, one which should be endued with the spirit and gifts and grace of Elias, which was indeed John Baptist, as Christ himself did declare to his Apostles. And of Messiah's reign, all the Prophets were to be understood of the reign of his spiritual kingdom over the house of Jacob and the true Israelites for evermore. And so by that their gross and carnal understanding, they mistook both Elias and the true Messiah, and, when they came, knew neither of them both.

So likewise I fear me (nay it is certain), the world that wanteth the light of the Spirit of God (for the world is not able to receive him, saith St. John) neither doth nor shall know the beast, nor his marks, though he rage cruelly and live never so beastly, and though his marked men be in number like the sand of the sea. The Lord therefore vouchsafe to open the eyes of the blind with the light of grace, that they may see, and perceive, and understand the words of God, after the mind of his Spirit. Amen.

Here remain two objections, which may seem weighty, and the which may peradventure move many not to follow the former counsel. The former reason is, a man will say : O, Sir, it is no small matter ye speak of, to depart from a man's own

native country into a strange realm. Many men have so great lets, as how is it possible that they can, or may do so? Some have lands and possessions, which they cannot carry with them: some have father, mother, wife, children, and kinsfolk, from whom to depart is a hard thing, and all one almost as to suffer death, and to go to a strange country, and that thou knowest not, neither the manner of the people, or how thou mayest away either with the people or with the country. Oh! what a hard thing it is to live among a strange people, whose tongue thou dost not understand, &c.

I grant here thou mayest heap a number of worldly incommodities, which are surely very like to ensue the departure out of a man's own native country—I mean out of the whole realm, into a strange land: but what of all these, and a thousand more of the like sort? I will set unto them one saying of our Saviour Christ, which unto the faithful child of God, and the true Christian, is able to countervail all these, yea, and to weigh them down. Christ our Saviour saith in Luke: “If any man come to me, and do not hate his father and mother (he meaneth, and will not in his cause forsake his father and mother), his wife, children, and brethren, yea, and his life too, he cannot be my disciple: and whosoever doth not bear his cross and come after me, he cannot be my disciple.” And in the same place he declareth by the two parables, one of a builder, and the other of a king, that is, a warrior, that every man that will not in Christ's cause forsake all that ever he hath, he cannot be his disciple. Look the places who will: the matter is so plainly set forth, that no glosses, nor cloking of conscience to the man of God, can serve to the contrary. Many places there be for the same purpose, for the embracing of Christ's cross,

when Christ and his cause layeth it upon our back : but this is so plain, that I need here to rehearse no more.

This latter reason and objection, whereof I spake before, is of more force, and includeth a necessity, which, after the common saying, hath no law, and therefore it is more hard to shape for a good answer. This may be objected of some : Alas ! Sir, I grant all these things do grieve me, and because I understand they do not agree with God's word, which is the rule of my conscience, I loath either to look on them, or to hear them. But, Sir, (alas!) I am an impotent man, an aged man, a sick man, a lame man, or I have so many small infants and a lame wife, which all live by my labour, and by my provision : if I leave them they shall starve, and I am not able to carry them with me, such is my state. Alas ! Sir, what shall I do ? And these causes may chance to some men of God, whereby either it shall be for them utterly impossible to depart the country, or else in departing, they shall be enforced to forsake such in extreme necessity, of whom both God and nature have committed unto them the care.

Alas ! what counsel is here to be given ? O lamentable state ! O sorrowful heart ! that neither can depart, and without extreme danger and peril, is not able to tarry still ! And these are they whom our Saviour Christ saw before should be, and called them in his prophecy of the latter time, pregnant women or travailing women, and women that give, after they be brought to bed, their small babes suck. The state of such as are not able to fly the infection of the pestiferous plague of antichrist's abominations, Christ lamenting, and not cursing, saith : " Woe be to the pregnant women and travailing women, and women that give suck in those days." For these, alas ! my heart mourneth the more, the less I am

able to give any comfortable counsel, but this, that always, as they look for everlasting life, they abide still in the confession of his truth, whatsoever shall befall; and for the rest to put their trust now wholly in God, which is able to save them against all appearance, and commonly in extremities, when all worldly comfort faileth, and the danger is at highest, then unto his, he is wont, after his accustomed mercy, to be most ready for to put his helping hand.

Daniel, God suffered to be cast into the den of lions, and the three children into the hot burning furnace, and yet he saved them all. Paul was plucked out of the mouth of the lion (as he saith of himself), and in Asia he was brought in such trouble, that he looked for no other thing, but for present death, and yet He that raised the dead to life again, did bring him out of all his troubles, and taught him and all others that be in troubles for Christ's cause, not to trust to themselves, but in Almighty God.

Of God's gracious aid in extreme perils towards them that put their trust in him, all Scripture is full, both old and new. What danger were the patriarchs often brought into; as Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, but of all other Joseph: and how mercifully were they delivered again? In what perils was Moses when he was fain to fly for the safeguard of his life? and when was he sent again to deliver the Israelites from the servile bondage? Not before they were brought into extreme misery. And when did the Lord mightily deliver his people from Pharaoh's sword? Not before they were brought into such straits, that they were so compassed on every side (the main sea on the one side, and the main host on the other), that they could look for no other, (yea, what did they else indeed look for?) but either to have been drowned in the sea, or else to have fallen on the edge of Pharaoh's sword. These judges which wrought most

wonderful things in the delivery of the people, were ever given when the people were brought to most misery before, as Othniel, Ehud, Shamgar, Gideon, Jephtha, Samson. And so was Saul endued with strength and boldness from above, against the Ammonites, Philistines, and Amalekites, for the defence of the people of God. David likewise felt God's help most sensibly ever in his extreme persecutions.

What shall I speak of the Prophets of God, whom God suffered so oft to be brought into extreme perils, and so mightily delivered them again: as Elias, Jeremy, Daniel, Micah, and Jonas, and many other, whom it were but too long to rehearse and set out at large?

And did the Lord use his servants otherwise in the new law after Christ's incarnation? Read the Acts of the Apostles, and you shall see, no. Were not the Apostles called into prison; and brought out by the mighty hand of God? Did not the angel deliver Peter out of the strong prison, and bring him out by the iron gates of the city, and set him free? And when, I pray you? Even the same night before Herod appointed to have brought him to judgment for to have slain him, as he had a little before killed James, the brother of John. Paul and Silas, when after they had been sore scourged, and were put into the inner prison, and there were laid fast in the stocks; I pray you what appearance was there that the magistrates should be glad to come the next day themselves to them, to desire them to be content, and to depart in peace? Who provided for Paul, that he should be safely conducted out of all danger, and brought to Felix, the Emperor's deputy, when as both the high priests, the pharisees, and rulers of the Jews had conspired to require judgment of death against him, he being fast in prison, and also more

than forty men had sworn each one to another, that they would never eat nor drink until they had slain Paul? A thing wonderful, that no reason could have invented, or man could have looked for: God provided Paul his own sister's son, a young man, that disappointed that conspiracy, and all their former conjuration. The manner how the thing came to pass, thou mayest read in the twenty-third of the Acts; I will not be tedious unto thee here with the rehearsal thereof.

Now, to descend from the Apostles to the martyrs that followed next in Christ's church, and in them likewise to declare how gracious our good God ever hath been to work wonderfully with them which in his cause have been in extreme perils, it were matter enough to write a long book. I will here name but one man and one woman, that is, Athanasius, the great clerk and godly man, stoutly standing in Christ's cause against the Arians; and that holy woman, Blandina, standing so constantly in all extreme pains, in the simple confession of Christ. If thou wilt have examples of more, look and thou shalt have both these and a hundred more in *Ecclesiastica Historia* of Eusebius, and in *Tripartita Historia*.

But for all these examples both of holy Scripture, and of other histories, I fear me the weak man of God, incumbered with the frailty and infirmity of the flesh, will have now and then such thoughts and qualms (as they call them) to run over his heart, and to think thus: All these things which are rehearsed out of the Scripture, I believe to be true, and of the rest truly I do think well, and can believe them also to be true: but all these we must needs grant were special miracles of God, which now in our days are ceased we see, and to require them at God's hands, were it not to tempt God?

Well, beloved brother, I grant such were great wonderful works of God, and we have not seen many of such miracles in our time, either for that our sight is not clear (for truly God worketh with his, his part in all times), or else because we have not the like faith of them for whose cause God wrought such things, or because, after that he had set forth the truth of his doctrine by such miracles then sufficiently, the time of so many miracles to be done was expired withal. Which of these is the most special cause of all other, or whether there be any other, God knoweth: I leave that to God. But know thou this, my well-beloved in God, that God's hand is as strong as ever it was; he may do what his gracious pleasure is, and he is as good and gracious as ever he was. Man changeth as the garment doth, but God, our heavenly Father, is even the same now that he was, and shall be for evermore.

The world without doubt (this I do believe, and therefore I say) draweth towards an end, and in all ages God hath had his own manner, after his secret and unsearchable wisdom, to use his elect; sometimes to deliver them, and to keep them safe; and sometimes to suffer them to drink of Christ's cup, that is, to feel the smart, and to feel of the whip. And though the flesh smarteth at the one, and feeleth ease in the other, is glad of the one, and sore vexed in the other; yet the Lord is all one towards them in both, and loveth them no less when he suffereth them to be beaten, yea, and to be put to bodily death, than when he worketh wonders for their marvellous delivery. Nay, rather he doth more for them, when in anguish of the torments he standeth by them, and strengtheneth them in their faith, to suffer in the confession of the truth and his faith, the bitter pangs of death, than when he opens the prison-doors and letteth them loose: for here he doth but respite

them to another time, and leaveth them in danger to fall in like peril again ; and there he maketh them perfect, to be without danger, pain, or peril, after that for evermore : but this his love towards them, howsoever the world doth judge fit, is one, both when he delivereth and when he suffereth them to be put to death. He loved as well Peter and Paul, when (after they had, according to his blessed will, pleasure, and providence, finished their courses, and done their services appointed them by him here in preaching of the Gospel) the one was beheaded, and the other was hanged or crucified of the cruel tyrant Nero (as the ecclesiastical history saith), as when he sent the angel to bring Peter out of prison ; and for Paul's delivery he made all the doors of the prison to fly wide open, and the foundation of the same like an earthquake to tremble and shake.

Thinkest thou (O man of God) that Christ our Saviour had less affection to the first martyr, Stephen, because he suffered his enemies, even at the first conflict, to stone him to death ? No surely : nor James, John's brother, which was one of the three that Paul calleth primates or principals amongst the Apostles of Christ. He loved him never a whit the worse than he did the other, although he suffered Herod the tyrant's sword to cut off his head. Nay, doth not Daniel say, speaking of the cruelty of antichrist's time : And the learned (he meaneth truly learned in God's law) shall teach many, and shall fall upon the sword, and in the flame (that is, shall be burnt in the flaming fire), and in captivity (that is, shall be in prison, and be spoiled and robbed of their goods for a long season). And after a little, in the same place of Daniel, it followeth : And of the learned there be, which shall fall or be overthrown, that they may be known, tried, chosen, and made

white—he meaneth to be burnished and scoured anew, picked and chosen, and made fresh and lusty. If that then was foreseen for to be done to the godly learned, and for so gracious causes, let every one to whom any such thing by the will of God doth chance be merry in God and rejoyce, for it is to God's glory, and to his own everlasting wealth. Wherefore well is he that ever he was born, for whom thus graciously God hath provided, having grace of God, and strength of the Holy Ghost, to stand stedfastly in the height of the storm. Happy is he that ever he was born, whom God, his heavenly Father, hath vouchsafed to appoint to glorify him, and to edify his church by the effusion of his blood.

To die in Christ's cause is an high honour, to the which no man certainly shall or can aspire, but to whom God vouchsafeth that dignity: for no man is allowed to presume for to take unto himself any office of honour, but he which is thereunto called of God. Therefore John saith well, speaking of them, which have obtained the victory by the blood of the Lamb, and by the word of his testimony, that they loved not their lives, even unto death.

And our Saviour Christ saith: "He that shall lose his life for my cause shall find it." And this manner of speech pertaineth not to one kind of Christians (as the worldly doth wickedly dream), but all that do truly pertain unto Christ. For when Christ had called unto him the multitude together with his disciples, he said unto them (mark that he said not this to the Disciples and Apostles only, but he said it to all), "Whosoever will follow me, let him forsake or deny himself, and take up his cross and follow me: for whosoever will save his life, shall lose it (he meaneth whosoever will, to save his life, both forsake or leave him and his truth); and whosoever shall lose his life for my cause and the Gospel's sake,

shall save it: for what shall it profit a man if he shall win the whole world and lose his own soul, his own life? or what shall a man give to recompense that loss of his own life, and of his own soul? Whosoever shall be ashamed of me and my words (that is, to confess me and my Gospel) before this adulterous and sinful generation, of him shall the Son of man be ashamed, when he cometh in the glory of his Father with the holy angels."

Know thou, O man of God, that all things are ordained for thy behoof, and for the furtherance of thee towards thy salvation. All things (saith St. Paul) work with the good to goodness, even the enemies of God; and such kind of punishments whereby they go about to destroy them, shall be forced by God's power, might, and fatherly providence, for to do them service.

It is not as the wicked thinketh, that poverty, adversity, sickness, tribulation, yea, painful death of the godly, be tokens that God doth not love them; but even clean the contrary, as all the whole course of Scripture doth evidently declare; for then he would never have suffered his most dearly beloved, the patriarchs, to have had such troubles, his prophets, his apostles, his martyrs, and chief champions and maintainers of his truth and gospel, so cruelly of the wicked to have been murdered and slain: "of the which some were racked (as the Apostle saith), and would not be delivered, that they might receive a better resurrection. Some were tried by mockings and scourgings, yea moreover by bonds and imprisonments: they were stoned; they were hewn and cut asunder; they were tempted; they were slain by the sword; they wandered up and down in sheeps' skins and goats' skins, being forsaken, afflicted, and tormented; such men as the world were not worthy to have, wandering in wilderness, in mountains, in

dens and caves of the earth. All these were approved by the testimony of faith, and received not the promise, because God did provide better for us, that without us they should not be consummated." They tarry for us undoubtedly, longing for the day; but they are commanded to have patience; yet (saith the Lord) a little while, until the number of their fellow-servants be fulfilled, and of their brethren which are yet to be slain, as they were.

Now (thou, O man of God) for our Lord's sake, let us not, for the love of this life, tarry too long, and be occasion of delay of that glorious consummation, in hope and expectation whereof they departed in the Lord, and the which also the living, indued with God's spirit, ought so earnestly to desire and to groan for with all the creatures of God. Let us all with John, the servant of God, cry in our hearts unto our Saviour Christ: "Come, Lord Jesu, come." For that when Christ, which is our life, shall be made manifest and appear in glory, then shall the children of God appear what they be, even like unto Christ; for this our weak body shall be transfigured, and made like unto Christ's glorious body, and that by the power whereby he is able to subdue all things unto himself: then that which is now corruptible, shall be made incorruptible: that now is vile, shall then be made glorious; that now is weak, shall rise then mighty and strong; that is, gross and carnal shall be made fine and spiritual, for then we shall see and have the unspeakable joy and fruition of the glorious majesty of our Lord, even as he is.

Who or what then shall let us to jeopardy, to jeopardy? yea, to spend this life, which we have here, in Christ's cause, in our Lord God's cause? O thou therefore, man of God, thou that art laden, and letted like unto a woman with child, that thou caust not fly the plague; yet if thou lust after such things as I have

spoken of, stand fast, whatsoever shall befall in thy Master's cause; and take this thy letting to fly, for a calling of God, to fight in thy Master Christ's cause. Of this be thou certain, they can do nothing unto thee, which thy Father is not aware of, or hath not foreseen before; they can do no more than it shall please him to suffer them to do for the furtherance of his glory, edifying of his church, and thine own salvation. Let them then do what they shall, seeing to thee (O man of God) all things shall be forced to serve, and to work with thee unto the best before God. O be not afraid, and remember the end.

All this which I have spoken for the comfort of the lamentable case of the man whom Christ called, women with child, I mean to be spoken of likewise to the captive and prisoner in God's cause: for such I count to be, as it were, already summoned and pressed to fight under the banner of the cross of Christ, and, as it were, soldiers allowed and taken up for the Lord's wars, to do their Lord and Master good and honourable service, and to stick to him, as men of trusty service in his cause, even unto death; and to think their life lost in his cause, is to win it in eternal glory for evermore.

Therefore now to conclude, and to make an end of this treatise, I say unto all that love God, our heavenly Father, that love Christ Jesus, our Redeemer and Saviour; that love to follow the ways of the Holy Ghost, which is our comforter and sanctifier of all; unto all that love Christ's spouse and body, the true Catholic church of Christ, yea, that love life and their own soul's health: I say unto all these, hearken, my dear brethren and sisters, all you that be of God, of all sorts, ages, dignities, or degrees; hearken to the word of our Saviour Jesus Christ, spoken to his Apostles, and meant to all his, in Saint Matthew's Gospel: "Fear not them

which kill the body, for they cannot kill the soul; but fear him more which may destroy, and cast both body and soul into hell fire. Are not two sparrows sold for a mite, and one of them shall not fall or light upon the ground without your Father? all the hairs of your head being numbered. Fear them not, you are much more worth than are the little sparrows.”—“Every one that confesseth me before men, him shall I likewise confess before my Father which is in heaven. But whosoever shall deny me before men, I shall deny him likewise before my Father which is in heaven.”

The Lord grant us therefore of his heavenly grace and strength, that here we may confess him in this world amongst this adulterous and sinful generation, that he may confess us again at the latter day before his Father which is in heaven, to his glory and our everlasting comfort, joy, and salvation.

To our heavenly Father, to our Saviour and Redeemer Jesus Christ, and to the Holy Ghost, be all glory and honour now and for ever. Amen.

A
BRIEF TREATISE
UPON THE
LORD'S SUPPER,
BY
DR. NICHOLAS RIDLEY,
Bishop and Martyr.

Reprinted from the Edition of 1574.

The original Preface to the Edition of 1574.

UNDERSTAND (good reader), that this great clerk and blessed martyr, Bishop Nicholas Ridley, sought not (by setting forth this notable godly piece of learned work) the vain glory of the world, nor temporal friendship of men, for his present advancement; much less he hunted hereby for bishoprics and benefices, as all his adversaries (the enemies of Christ's truth and ordinance), the Papists, commonly do: but having consideration of the great charge of the souls committed unto him, and of the account thereof, which the justice of God would require at his hands, intending therewithal to be found blameless in the great day of the Lord, seeing he was put apart to defend the Gospel: he not only forsook lands, goods, world, friends, and himself withal, and testified the truth specified in this book by his learned mouth in the open presence of the world; but also (to leave a sure monument and love-token unto his flock) he hath registered it by his own pen in this form ensuing, and sealed it up with his blood. Forasmuch then, as he hath approved himself no vain disputer, no weathercock, nor hypocrite, seeing he hath willingly given his life for the truth; and in as much also, as his love and most constant Christian conscience speaketh freely unto thee, gentle reader, I beseech thee, for Christ's sake and thine own, lend him thine indifferent heart and patient hearing.

A
BRIEF TREATISE
UPON THE
LORD'S SUPPER,

Written by Dr. Ridley a little before his Death.

MANY things confound a weak memory: a few places well weighed and perceived, lighten the understanding. Truth is there to be searched, where it is certain to be had. Though God doth speak the truth by man, yet in man's word which God hath not revealed to be his, a man may doubt, without mistrust in God. Christ is the truth of God revealed unto man from heaven by God himself, and therefore in his word the truth is to be found, which is to be embraced of all that be his. Christ biddeth us to ask, and we shall have: search, and we shall find: knock, and it shall be opened unto us.

Therefore, O heavenly Father, the author and fountain of all truth, the bottomless sea of all understanding; send down, we beseech thee, thy holy Spirit into our hearts, and lighten our understandings with the beams of thy heavenly grace. We ask thee this, O merciful Father, not in respect of our deserts, but for thy dear Son, our Saviour Jesus Christ's sake. Thou knowest, O heavenly Father, that the controversy about the sacrament of the blessed body and blood of thy dear Son, our Saviour Jesus Christ, hath troubled not of late only, the church of England, France, Germany, and Italy, but also many

years ago. The fault is ours (no doubt) thereof, for we have deserved thy plague.

But (O Lord) be merciful, and relieve our misery with some light of grace. Thou knowest (O Lord) how this wicked world rolleth up and down, and reeleth to and fro, and careth not what thy will is, so it may abide in wealth. If truth have wealth, then who are so stout to defend the truth as they? But if Christ's cross be laid on truth's back, then they vanish away straight, as wax before the fire. But these are not they, O heavenly Father, for whom I make my most moan, but for those silly ones, O Lord, which have a zeal unto thee: those, I mean, which would and wish to know thy will, and yet are letted, holden back, and blinded by the subtilties of Satan and his ministers, the wickedness of this wretched world, and the sinful lusts and affections of the flesh.

Alas! Lord, thou knowest we be of ourselves but flesh, wherein there dwelleth nothing that is good. How then is it possible for man without thee (O Lord) to understand thy truth indeed? Can the natural man perceive the will of God? O Lord, to whom thou givest a zeal for thee, give them also (we beseech thee) the knowledge of thy blessed will. Suffer not them (O Lord) blindly to be led, for to strive against thee, as thou didst those (alas!) which crucified thine own dear Son: forgive them (O Lord) for thy dear Son's sake, for they know not what they do. They do think (alas! O Lord) for lack of knowledge, that they do unto thee good service, even when against thee they do most cruelly rage. Remember, O Lord (we beseech thee), for whom thy martyr Stephen did pray, and whom thine holy Apostle Paul did so truly and earnestly love, that for their salvation, he wished himself accursed for them.

Remember (O heavenly Father) the prayer of thy dear Son our Saviour Christ upon the cross, when he said unto thee : “ O Father, forgive them, they know not what they do.” With this forgiveness, O good Lord, give me, I beseech thee, thy grace, so here briefly to set forth the sayings of thy Son, our Saviour Christ, of his Evangelists, and of his Apostles, that in this aforesaid controversy, the light of the truth, by the lantern of thy word, may shine unto all them that love thee.

Of the Lord's last supper do speak expressly the Evangelists, Matthew, Mark, and Luke ; but none more plainly, nor more fully declareth the same, than doth St. Paul, partly in the tenth, but especially in the eleventh chapter of the First Epistle to the Corinthians. As Matthew and Mark do agree much in words, so do likewise Luke and St. Paul ; but all four, no doubt, as they were all taught in one school, and inspired with one Spirit, so taught they all one truth. God grant us to understand it well. Amen.

Matthew setteth forth Christ's supper thus :

“ When even was come, he sat down with the twelve, &c. As they did eat, Jesus took bread, and gave thanks, brake it, and gave it to his disciples, and said : Take, eat, this is my body. And he took the cup, gave thanks, and gave it to them, saying : Drink ye all of it, for this is my blood of the New Testament, that is shed for many for the remission of sins. I say unto you, I will not drink henceforth of this fruit of the vine-tree until the day when I shall drink that new in my Father's kingdom. And when he had said grace, they went out,” &c.

Now Mark speaketh it thus :

“ And as they did eat, Jesus took bread, blessed and brake, and gave to them, and said : Take, eat, this is my body. And he took the cup, gave thanks, and gave it to them, and they all drank of it. And

he said unto them : This is my blood of the New Testament, which is shed for many. Verily, I say unto you, I will drink no more of the fruit of the vine until that day that I drink that new in the kingdom of God."

Here Matthew and Mark do agree, not only in the matter, but also almost fully in the form of words, saving, that for those words in Matthew, "give thanks," Mark hath one word, "blessed;" which signifieth in this place, all one. And where Matthew saith, "drink ye all of this," Mark saith, "they all drank of it." And where Matthew saith, "of this fruit of the vine," Mark leaveth out the word "this," and saith, "of the fruit of the vine."

Now likewise let us see what agreement in form of words is between St. Luke and St. Paul. Luke writeth thus :

"He took bread, gave thanks, brake it, and gave it to them, saying : This is my body, which is given for you. This do in remembrance of me. Likewise also when they had supped, he took the cup, saying : This cup is the New Testament in my blood, which is shed for you."

St. Paul setteth forth the Lord's supper thus :

"The Lord Jesus, the same night, in the which he was betrayed, took bread, and gave thanks, and brake, and said : Take, eat, this is my body, which is broken for you. This do in remembrance of me. After the same manner he took the cup, when supper was done, saying : This cup is the New Testament in my blood. This do, as often as ye drink it, in the remembrance of me. For as often as ye shall eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye shew the Lord's death, until he come."

Here, where Luke saith, "which is given," Paul saith, "which is broken." And as Luke addeth to the words of Paul spoken of the cup, "which is

shed for you :” so likewise Paul addeth to the words thereof, “ This do, as often as ye shall drink it in the remembrance of me.” The rest that followeth in St. Paul, both there and in the tenth chapter, pertaineth unto the right use and doctrine of the Lord's supper.

Thus the Evangelists and St. Paul have rehearsed the words and work of Christ, whereby he did institute and ordain this holy sacrament of his body and blood, to be a perpetual remembrance until his coming again of himself (I say), that is, of his body given for us, and of his blood shed for the remission of sins.

But this remembrance, which is thus ordained, as the author thereof is Christ (both God and man), so by the almighty power of God it far passeth all kinds of remembrances that any other man is able to make, either of himself, or of any other thing : for whosoever receiveth this holy sacrament thus ordained in remembrance of Christ, he receiveth therewith either death or life. In this, I trust, we do all agree. For St. Paul saith of the godly receivers in the tenth chapter of his First Epistle unto the Corinthians : “ The cup of blessing which we bless, is it not the partaking or fellowship of Christ's blood ?” And also he saith : “ The bread which we break (and meaneth at the Lord's table), is it not the partaking or fellowship of Christ's body ?”

Now the partaking of Christ's body and of his blood unto the faithful and godly, is the partaking or fellowship of life and immortality. And again, of the bad and ungodly receivers, St. Paul plainly saith thus : “ He that eateth of this bread, and drinketh of this cup unworthily, is guilty of the body and blood of the Lord.” Oh ! how necessary then is it, if we love life and would eschew death, to try and examine ourselves before we eat of this bread and drink of this

cup ; for else assuredly, he that eateth and drinketh thereof unworthily, eateth and drinketh his own damnation, because he esteemeth not the Lord's body ; that is, he reverenceth not the Lord's body with the honour that is due unto him : and that which was said, that with the receiving of the holy sacrament of the blessed body and blood of Christ, is received of every one, good or bad, either life or death, it is not meant that they, which are dead before God, may hereby receive life ; or the living before God can hereby receive death : for as none is meet to receive natural food, whereby the natural life is nourished, except he be born and live before ; so no man can feed (by the receipt of the holy sacrament) of the food of eternal life, except he be regenerated and born of God before : and on the other side, no man here receiveth damnation, which is not dead before.

Thus hitherto, without all doubt, God is my witness, I say, so far as I know, there is no controversy among them that be learned among the church of England (concerning the matter of this sacrament), but all do agree, whether they be new or old ; and to speak plain, and as some of them do odiously call each other, whether they be Protestants, Pharisees, Papists, or Gospellers.

And as all do agree hitherto in the aforesaid doctrine, so all do detest, abhor, and condemn the wicked heresy of the Messalians, which otherwise be called Eutichites, which said, that the holy sacrament can neither do good nor harm.

All do also condemn those wicked Anabaptists, which put no difference between the Lord's table and the Lord's meat, and their own ; and because charity would, that we should (if it be possible, and so far as we may with the safeguard of good conscience, and maintenance of the truth) agree with all men ;

therefore, methinks, it is not charitably done, to burden any man (either new or old, as they call them) further, than such do declare themselves to dissent from that we are persuaded to be the truth, and pretend there to be controversies, where none such are in deed; and so to multiply the debate, the which the more it doth increase, the further it doth depart from the unity, that the true Christian should desire.

And again, this is true, that the truth neither needeth, nor will be maintained with lies. It is also a true common proverb, "that it is even sin to lie upon the devil: for though by thy lie thou dost seem never so much to speak against the devil, yet in that thou liest, indeed thou workest the devil's work; thou dost him service, and takest the devil's part."

Now, whether then do they godly and charitably, which either by their pen in writing, or by their words in preaching, do bear the simple people in hand, that those which thus do teach and believe, do go about to make the holy sacrament (ordained by Christ himself) a thing no better than a piece of common bread? or that do say, that such do make the holy sacrament of the blessed body and blood of Christ nothing else, but a bare sign, or a figure, to represent Christ, none otherwise than the ivy-bush doth represent the wine in a tavern; or as a vile person gorgeously apparelled, may represent a king or a prince in a play: alas! let us leave lying and speak the truth every man, not only to his neighbour, but also of his neighbour, for we are members one of another, saith St. Paul.

The controversy (no doubt) which at this day troubleth the church (wherein any mean learned man, either old or new, doth stand in) is not, whether the holy sacrament of the body and blood of Christ is no better than a piece of common bread, or no; or whether the Lord's table is no more to be re-

garded, than the table of any earthly man ; or whether it is but a bare sign or figure of Christ, and nothing else. For all do grant, that St. Paul's words do require, that the bread which we break is the partaking of the body of Christ : and all also do grant him, that eateth of that bread, or drinketh of that cup unworthily, to be guilty of the Lord's death, and to eat and drink his own damnation, because he esteemeth not the Lord's body. All do grant that these words of St. Paul (when he saith, if we eat, it advantageth us nothing ; or if we eat not, we want nothing thereby) are not spoken of the Lord's table, but of other common meats.

Thus then hitherto yet we all agree. But now let us see wherein the dissension doth stand. The understanding of that, wherein it doth chiefly stand, is a step to the true searching forth of the truth. For who can seek well a remedy, if he know not before the disease ?

It is neither to be denied nor dissembled, that in the matter of this sacrament there be divers points, wherein men counted to be learned cannot agree : as, Whether there be any transubstantiation of the bread, or no ? Any corporal and carnal presence of Christ's substance, or no ? Whether adoration, only due unto God, is to be done to the sacrament, or no ? And whether Christ's body be there offered in deed unto the heavenly Father by the priest, or no ? Or whether the evil man receiveth the natural body of Christ, or no ?

Yet nevertheless, as in a man diseased in divers parts, commonly the original cause of such divers diseases, which are spread abroad in the body, doth come from some one chief member, as from the stomach, or from the head : even so, all five aforesaid points do chiefly hang upon this one question, which is, What is the matter of the sacrament, whe-

ther it is the natural substance of bread, or the natural substance of Christ's own body?

The truth of this question, truly tried out and agreed upon, no doubt will cease the controversy in all the rest. For if it be Christ's own natural body, born of the Virgin, then assuredly (seeing that all learned men in England, so far as I know, both new and old, grant there to be but one substance), then, I say, they must needs grant transubstantiation, that is, a change of the substance of bread into the substance of Christ's body: then also they must grant the carnal and corporal presence of Christ's body: then must the sacrament be adored with the honour due unto Christ himself, for the unity of the two natures in one person: then if the priest do offer the sacrament, he doth offer indeed Christ himself: and finally, the murderer, the adulterer, or wicked man, receiving the sacrament, must needs there receive also the natural substance of Christ's own blessed body, both flesh and blood.

Now, on the other side, if all the truth shall be truly tried out, it be found, that the substance of bread is the natural substance of the sacrament, although for the change of the use, office, and dignity of the bread, the bread indeed is sacramentally changed into the body of Christ, as the water in baptism is sacramentally changed into the fountain of regeneration, and yet the natural substance remaineth all one, as was before: if (I say) the true solution of that former question (whereupon all these controversies do hang) be, that the natural substance of bread is the material substance in the sacrament of Christ's blessed body; then must it needs follow of the former proposition (confessed of all that be named to be learned, so far as I do know in England), which is, that there is but one material substance in the sacrament of the body, and one only

likewise in the sacrament of the blood: that there is no such thing indeed and in truth, as they call transubstantiation (for the substance of bread remaineth still in the sacrament of the body). Then also the natural substance of Christ's human nature, which he took of the Virgin Mary, is in heaven, where it reigneth now in glory, and not here inclosed under the form of bread. Then that godly honour, which is only due unto God the Creator, and may not be done unto the creature without idolatry and sacrilege, is not to be done unto the holy sacrament. Then also the wicked, I mean the impenitent, murderers, adulterers, or such-like, do not receive the natural substance of the blessed body and blood of Christ. Finally, then doth it follow, that Christ's blessed body and blood, which was once only offered and shed upon the cross, being available for the sins of all the whole world, is offered up no more in the natural substance thereof, neither by the priest, nor any other thing.

But here, before we go any further to search in this matter, and to wade (as it were) to search and try out (as we may) the truth hereof in the Scripture, it shall do well, by the way, to know, whether they, that thus make answer and solution unto the former principal question, do take away simply and absolutely the presence of Christ's body and blood from the sacrament, ordained by Christ, and duly ministered according to his holy ordinance and institution of the same. Undoubtedly, they do deny that utterly, either so to say, or so to mean. Hereof, if a man do or will doubt the books which are written already in this matter of them, that thus do answer, will make the matter plain.

Now then you will say, what kind of presence do they grant, and what do they deny? Briefly, they deny the presence of Christ's body in the natural

substance of his human and assumed nature, and grant the presence of the same by grace: that is, they affirm and say, that the substance of the natural body and blood of Christ is only remaining in heaven; and so shall be unto the latter day, when he shall come again in glory (accompanied with the angels of heaven) to judge both the quick and the dead.

And the same natural substance of the very body and blood of Christ, because it is united in the divine nature in Christ, the second Person of the Trinity: therefore, it hath not only life in itself, but is also able to give, and doth give life unto so many as be, or shall be partakers thereof: that is, to all that do believe on his name, which are not born of blood (as St. John saith), or of the will of the flesh, or of the will of man, but are born of God, though the self-same substance abide still in heaven, and they, for the time of their pilgrimage, dwell here upon earth: by grace (I say), that is, by the gift of this life (mentioned in John) and the properties of the same meet for our pilgrimage here upon earth, the same body of Christ is here present with us. Even as for example, we say, the same sun which (in substance) never removeth his place out of the heavens, is yet present here by his beams, light, and natural influence, where it shineth upon the earth. For God's word and his sacraments be (as it were) the beams of Christ, which is *Sol justitiæ*, the Sun of righteousness.

Thus hast thou heard, of what sort or sect soever thou be, wherein doth stand the principal state and chief point of all the controversies, which do properly pertain unto the nature of this sacrament. As for the use thereof, I grant, there be many other things whereof here I have spoken nothing at all.

And now, lest thou mayest justly complain and

say, that I have, in opening of this matter, done nothing else but digged a pit, and have not shut it up again; or opened the book, and have not closed it again; or else, to call me as thou listest, as neutral, dissembler, or whatsoever else thy lust and learning shall serve thee to name me worse: therefore here now I will, by God's grace, not only shortly, but also clearly and plainly, as I can, make thee now to know, whether of the aforesaid two answers to the former principal state and chief point, doth like me best. Yea, and also I will hold all those accursed, which in this matter that now so troubleth the church of Christ, have of God received the key of knowledge, and yet go about, to shut up the doors, so that they themselves will not enter in, nor suffer others, that would.

And, for mine own part, I consider, both of late what charge and cure of souls hath been committed unto me, whereof God knoweth, how soon I shall be called to give account, and also now in this world what peril and danger of the laws (concerning my life) I am now in at this present time; what folly were it then for me, now to dissemble with God, of whom assuredly I look and hope by Christ to have everlasting life! Seeing that such charge and danger (both before God and man) do compass me in round about on every side: therefore (God willing) I will frankly and freely utter my mind, and though my body be captive, yet my tongue and my pen (as long as I may) shall freely set forth that which undoubtedly I am persuaded to be the truth of God's word. And yet I will do it under this protestation, call me a Protestant who list, I pass not thereof.

My protestation shall be this: that my mind is and ever shall be (God willing) to set forth sincerely the true sense and meaning (to the best of my understanding) of God's most holy word, and not

to decline from the same, either for fear of worldly danger, or else for hope of gain. I do protest also due obedience and submission of my judgment in this my writing, and in all other mine affairs, unto those of Christ's church, which be truly learned in God's holy word, gathered in Christ's name, and guided by his Spirit. After this protestation, I plainly affirm and say, that the second answer, made unto the chief question and principal point, I am persuaded to be the very true meaning and sense of God's holy word; that is, that the natural substance of bread and wine is the true material substance of the holy sacrament of the blessed body and blood of our Saviour Christ: and the places of Scripture whereupon this, my faith, is grounded, be these, both concerning the sacrament of the body, and also of the blood.

First, let us repeat the beginning of the institution of the Lord's supper, wherein all the three Evangelists and St. Paul almost in words do agree, saying, that "Jesus took bread, gave thanks, brake, and gave to the disciples, saying, Take, eat, this is my body." Here it appeareth plainly, that Christ calleth very bread, his body. For that which he took, was very bread (in this all men do agree); and that which he took, after he had given thanks, he brake: and that which he took and brake, he gave it to his disciples; and that which he took, brake, and gave to his disciples, he said himself of it: "This is my body." So it appeareth plainly, that Christ called very bread his body. But very bread cannot be his body in very substance; therefore it must needs have another meaning, which meaning appeareth plainly, what it is, by the next sentence that followeth immediately, both in Luke and in Paul, and that is this: "Do this in remembrance of me."

Whereupon it seemeth to me to be evident, that

Christ did take bread, and called it his body, for that he would institute thereby a perpetual remembrance of his body, specially of that singular benefit of our redemption, which he would then procure and purchase unto us by his body upon the cross. But bread, retaining still its own very natural substance, may be thus by grace, and in a sacramental signification, his body: whereas else the very bread, which he took, brake and gave them, could not be in any wise his natural body, for that were confusion of substances. And therefore the very words of Christ, joined with the next sentence following, both enforce us to confess the very bread to remain still, and also open unto us, how that bread may be, and is thus, by his divine power, his body, which was given for us.

But here I remember, I have read in some writers of the contrary opinion, which do deny, that that which Christ did take, he brake. For (say they) after his taking, he blessed it, as Mark doth speak; and by his blessing he changed the natural substance of the bread into the natural substance of his body: and so although he took the bread and blessed it, yet because in blessing he changed the substance of it, he brake not the bread, which then was not there, but only the form thereof.

Unto this objection I have two plain answers, both grounded upon God's word. The one I will rehearse; the other answer I will defer, until I speak of the sacrament of the blood. Mine answer here is taken out of the plain words of St. Paul, which do manifestly confound this fantastical invention, first invented (I ween) of Pope Innocentius, and after confirmed by the subtle sophister Duns, and lately renewed now in our days, with an eloquent style and much fineness of wit. But what can crafty inven-

tion, subtilty in sophisms, eloquence or fineness of wit, prevail against the unfallible word of God?

What need we to strive and contend what thing we break? For Paul saith, speaking undoubtedly of the Lord's table: "The bread (saith he) which we break, is it not the partaking or fellowship of the Lord's body?" Whereupon followeth, that after the thanksgiving it is bread which we break. And how often, in the Acts of the Apostles, is the Lord's supper signified by breaking of bread? "They did persevere (saith St. Luke) in the Apostles' doctrine, communion, and breaking of bread." And, "They brake bread in every house." And again, in another place, "When they were come together to break bread, &c." St. Paul, which setteth forth most fully in his writings both the doctrine and the right use of the Lord's supper, and the sacramental eating and drinking of Christ's body and blood, called it five times, "bread," "bread," "bread," "bread," "bread."

The sacramental bread is the mystical body, and so it is called in Scripture (1 Cor. x.), as it is called the natural body of Christ. But Christ's mystical body is the congregation of Christians; now no man was ever so fond, as to say, that that sacramental bread is transubstantiated and changed into the substance of the congregation. Wherefore, no man should likewise think, or say, that the bread is transubstantiated and changed into the natural substance of Christ's human nature.

But my mind is not here to write what may be gathered out of Scriptures for this purpose, but only to note here briefly those which seem to me to be the most plain places. Therefore, contented to have spoken that much of the sacramental bread, I will now speak a little of the Lord's cup.

And this shall be my third argument, grounded

upon Christ's own words. The natural substance of the sacramental wine remaineth still, and is the material substance of the sacrament of the blood of Christ : therefore, it is likewise so in the sacramental bread. I know that he, that is of a contrary opinion, will deny the former part of my argument : but I will prove it thus, by the plain words of Christ himself, both in Matthew and in Mark : Christ's words are these, after the words said upon the cup : "I say unto you (saith Christ), I will not drink henceforth of this fruit of the vine-tree, until I shall drink that new in my Father's kingdom." Here note, how Christ calleth plainly his cup the fruit of the vine-tree. But the fruit of the vine-tree is very natural wine : wherefore the natural substance of the wine doth remain still in the sacrament of Christ's blood.

And here, in speaking of the Lord's cup, it cometh unto my remembrance the vanity of Innocentius his fantastical invention, which by Paul's words I did confute before, and here did promise somewhat more to speak ; and that is this : If the transubstantiation be made by the word "blessed" in Mark, said upon the bread, as Innocentius, that Pope, did say ; then surely, seeing that word is not said of Christ, neither of any of the Evangelists, nor in St. Paul, upon the cup : there is no transubstantiation of the wine at all. For, where the cause doth fail, there cannot follow the effect. But the sacramental bread, and the sacramental wine, do both remain in their natural substance alike ; and if the one be not changed, as of the sacramental wine it appeareth evidently, then there is not any such transubstantiation in neither of them both.

All that put and affirm this change of the substance of bread and wine into the substance of Christ's body and blood (called transubstantiation),

do also say and affirm this change to be made by a certain form of prescript words, and none other. But what they be that make the change either of the one or of the other, undoubtedly even they, that do write most finely in these our days, almost confess plainly, that they cannot tell. For, although they grant to certain of the old doctors, as Chrysostom and Ambrose, that these words, "This is my body," are the words of consecration of the sacrament of the body, "yet," say they, "these words may well be so called, because they do assure us of the consecration thereof, whether it be done before these words be spoken, or no." But as for this their doubt (concerning the sacrament of the body), I let it pass.

Let us now consider the words which pertain to the cup. This is first evident, that as Matthew much agreeth with Mark, and likewise Luke with Paul much agreeth, herein in form of words, so in the same, the form of words in Matthew and Mark is diverse from that which is in Luke and Paul. The old authors do most rehearse the form of words in Matthew and Mark, because, I ween, they seemed to them most clear. But here I would know, whether it is credible or no, that Luke and Paul, when they celebrated the Lord's supper with their congregations, did not use the same form of words (at the Lord's table) which they wrote, Luke in his Gospel, and Paul in his Epistle. Of Luke, because he was a physician, whether some will grant that he might be a priest or no, and was able to receive the order of priesthood, which (they say) is given by virtue of these words said by the Bishop: "Take thou authority to sacrifice for the quick and the dead,"—I cannot tell; but if they should be so strait upon Luke, either for his craft, or else for lack of such power given him by virtue of the afore-

said words, then, I ween, both Peter and Paul are in danger to be deposed of their priesthood; for the craft either of fishing, which was Peter's, or making of tents, which was Paul's, were more vile than the science of physic. And as for those sacramental words of the order of priesthood, to have authority to sacrifice both for the quick and the dead, I ween, Peter and Paul (if they were both alive) were not able to prove that ever Christ gave them such authority, or ever said any such words unto them. But I will let Luke go, and because Paul speaketh more for himself, I will rehearse his words:—

“That (saith Paul) which I received of the Lord, I gave unto you: for the Lord Jesus, &c.” and so setteth forth the whole institution and right use of the Lord's supper. Now, seeing that Paul here said, that which he received of the Lord, he had given them, and that which he had received and given them before by word of mouth, now he rehearseth and writeth the same in his Epistle; is it credible that Paul would never use this form of words upon the Lord's cup, which (as he saith) he received of the Lord that he had given them before, and now rehearseth in his Epistle? I trust, no man is so far from all reason, but he will grant me, that this is not likely to be.

Now then, if you grant me that Paul did use the form of words which he writeth, let us then rehearse and consider Paul's words, which he saith Christ spake thus upon the cup: “This cup is the New Testament in my blood; this do as often as ye shall drink it in the remembrance of me.” Here I would know, whether that Christ's words spoken upon the cup, were not as mighty in work, and as effectual in signification, to all intents, constructions, and purposes (as our Parliament do speak), as they were spoken upon the bread?

If this be granted, which thing, I think, no man can deny, then further I reason thus: but the word ("is") in the words spoken upon the Lord's bread, doth mightily signify (say they) the change of the substance of that, which goeth before it, into the substance of that, which followeth after; that is, of the substance of Christ's body, when Christ saith, This is my body. Now then if Christ's words, which be spoken upon the cup, which Paul here rehearseth, be of the same might and power, both in working and signifying, then must this word ("is") when Christ saith, "This cup is the New Testament, &c." turn the substance of the cup into the substance of the New Testament.

And if thou wilt say, that this word ("is") neither maketh nor signifieth any such change of the cup, although it be said of Christ, that this cup is the New Testament, yet Christ meant no such change as that: marry, Sir, even so say I, when Christ said of the bread which he took, and after thanks given, brake, and gave them, saying: "Take, eat, this is my body;" he meant no more any such change of the substance of bread into the substance of his natural body, than he meant of the New Testament.

And if thou wilt say, that the word ("cup") here in Christ's words doth not signify the cup itself, but the wine, or thing contained in the cup, by a figure called *metonymy*, for that Christ's words meant, and so must needs be taken: thou sayest very well. But, I pray thee by the way, here note two things: first, that this word ("is") hath no such strength and signification in the Lord's words, to make or to signify any transubstantiation: secondly, that in the Lord's words, whereby he instituted the sacrament of his blood, he used a figurative speech.

How vain then is it, that some so earnestly do say,

as if it were an infallible rule, that in doctrine and in the institution of the sacraments, Christ used no figures, but all his words are to be strained to their proper signification : whenas here, whatsoever thou sayest was in the cup, neither that, nor the cup itself (taking every word in its proper signification), was the New Testament : but in understanding that, which was in the cup, by the cup, that is a figurative speech. Yea, and also thou canst not verify, or truly say of that (whether thou say it was wine or Christ's blood) to be the New Testament, without a figure also : thus in one sentence, spoken of Christ in the institution of the sacrament of his blood, the figure must help us twice : so untrue is it that some do write, that Christ useth no figure in the doctrine of faith, nor in the institution of his sacraments. But some say, if we shall thus admit figures in doctrine, then shall all the articles of our faith by figures and allegories shortly be transformed and unloosed. I say, it is like fault, and even the same, to deny the figure where the place so requireth to be understood, as vainly to make it a figurative speech, which is to be understood in its proper signification.

The rules whereby the speech is known, when it is a figurative, and when it is none, St. Austin, in his book called *De Doctrina Christiana*, giveth divers learned lessons, very necessary to be known of the student in God's word. Of the which one I will rehearse, which is this : if (saith he) the Scripture doth seem to command a thing, which is wicked and ungodly, or to forbid a thing that charity doth require, then know thou (saith he) that the speech is figurative. And for example he bringeth the saying of Christ in the 6th chapter of St. John : " Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man, and drink his blood, ye cannot have life in you." It seemeth to command a wicked or an ungodly thing, wherefore

it is a figurative speech, commanding to have communion and fellowship with Christ's passion, and devoutly and wholesomely to lay up in memory, that his flesh was crucified and wounded for us.

And here I cannot but marvel at some men, surely of much excellent fineness of wit, and of great eloquence, that are not ashamed to write and say, that this aforesaid saying of Christ is (after St. Austin) a figurative speech indeed, but not unto the learned, but unto the unlearned: here let any man that indifferently understandeth the Latin tongue, read the place in St. Austin, and if he perceive not clearly St. Austin's words and mind to be contrary, let me abide thereof the rebuke.

This lesson of St. Austin I have therefore the rather set forth, because as it teacheth us to understand that place in John figuratively, even so surely the same lesson with the example of St. Austin's exposition thereof teacheth us, not only by the same to understand Christ's words in the institution of the sacrament, both of his body and of his blood, figuratively, but also the very true meaning and understanding of the same: for, if to command to eat the flesh of the Son of Man, and to drink his blood, seemeth to command an inconvenience and an ungodliness, and is even so indeed, if it be understood, as the words do stand in their proper signification, and therefore must be understood figuratively and spiritually, as St. Austin doth godly and learnedly interpret them; then surely Christ, commanding in his last supper to eat his body, and to drink his blood, seemeth to command in sound of words, as great and even the same inconvenience and ungodliness, as did his words in the 6th chapter of St. John, and therefore must even by the same reason be likewise understood and expounded figuratively and spiritually, as St. Austin did the other: whereunto that exposition

of St. Austin may seem to be the more meet, for that Christ in his supper, to the commandment of eating and drinking of his body and blood, addeth, Do this in the remembrance of me. Which words, surely, were the key that opened and revealed this spiritual and godly exposition unto St. Austin.

But I have tarried longer in setting forth the form of Christ's words upon the Lord's cup, written by Paul and Luke, than I did intend to do. And yet in speaking of the form of Christ's words, spoken upon his cup, cometh now to my remembrance the form of words used in the Latin mass upon the Lord's cup. Whereof I do not a little marvel, what should be the cause, seeing the Latin mass agreeth with the Evangelists and Paul, in the form of words said upon the bread; why, in the words upon the Lord's cup, it differeth from them all? yea, and addeth to the words of Christ, spoken upon the cup, these words, *mysterium fidei*, i. e. the mystery of faith, which are not read to be attributed unto the sacrament of Christ's blood, neither in the Evangelists, nor in Paul, nor (so far as I know) in any other place of holy Scripture. Yea, and if it may have some good exposition, yet, why it should not be as well added unto the words of Christ upon his bread, as upon his cup, surely I do not see that mystery.

And because I see in the use of the Latin mass the sacrament of the blood abused, when it is denied unto the lay people, contrary unto God's most certain word: for why, I do beseech thee, should the sacrament of Christ's blood be denied unto the lay Christians, more than to the priest? Did not Christ shed his blood as well for the lay godly man as for the godly priest? If thou wilt say, yes, that he did so; but yet the sacrament of the blood is not to be received without the offering up and sacrificing thereof unto God the Father, both for the quick and

for the dead; and no man may make oblation of Christ's blood unto God, but a priest; and therefore the priest alone (and that but in his mass only) may receive the sacrament of the blood. And call you this (masters) *mysterium fidei*? Alas! alas! I fear me, this is before God, *mysterium iniquitatis*, the mystery of iniquity, such as Paul speaketh of, in his Epistle to the Thessalonians. The Lord be merciful unto us, and bless us, and lighten his countenance upon us, and be merciful unto us; that we may know thy way upon earth, and among all people thy salvation. This kind of oblation standeth upon transubstantiation, its german cousin, and do grow both upon one ground: the Lord weed out of his vineyard shortly (if it be his will and pleasure) that bitter root.

To speak of this oblation, how much it is injurious unto Christ's passion, how it cannot but with high blasphemy, and heinous arrogance, and intolerable pride, be claimed of any man, other than of Christ himself; how much and how plainly it repugneth unto the manifest words, the true sense and meaning of holy Scripture in many places, especially in the Epistle to the Hebrews: the matter is so long, and others have written of it at large, that my mind is now not to entreat thereof any further.

For only in this my scribbling I intended to search out and set forth by the Scriptures, according to God's gracious gift of my poor knowledge, whether the true sense and meaning of Christ's words in the institution of his holy supper do require any transubstantiation (as they call it), or that the very substance of bread and wine do remain still in the Lord's supper, and be the material substance of the holy sacrament of Christ our Saviour's blessed body and blood. Yet there remaineth one vain quiddity of Duns in this matter, the which because some that

write now do seem to like it so well, that they have stripped him out of Duns' dusty and dark terms, and pricked him and painted him in fresh colours of an eloquent style, may therefore deceive the more, except the error be warily eschewed.

Duns saith in these words of Christ, This is my body, "this pronoun demonstrative, meaning the word ('this') if ye will know, what it doth shew or demonstrate, whether the bread, that Christ took or no, he answereth, no: but only one thing in substance it pointeth, whereof the nature and name it doth not tell, but leaveth that to be determined and told by that which followeth the word, 'is,' that is, by *predicatum*, as the logician doth speak;" and therefore he calleth this pronoun demonstrative ("this"), *individuum vagum*, that is, a wandering proper name, whereby we may point out and shew any one thing in substance, what thing soever it be.

That this imagination is vain and untruly applied unto those words of Christ, "This is my body;" it may appear plainly, by the words of Luke and Paul, said upon the cup, conferred with the form of words spoken upon the cup in Matthew and Mark: for, as upon the bread it is said of all, "This is my body;" so of Matthew and Mark is said of the cup, "This is my blood." Then if in the words, "This is my body," the word ("this") be, as Duns calleth it, "a wandering name," to appoint and shew forth any one thing, whereof the name and nature it doth not tell: so must it be likewise in these words of Matthew and Mark upon the Lord's cup, This is my blood. But in the words of Matthew and Mark it signifieth and pointeth out the same that it doth in the Lord's words upon the cup in Luke and Paul, where it is said, "This cup is the New Testament in my blood, &c." Therefore in Matthew and Mark the pronoun demonstrative ("this") doth not wander to point

out only one thing in substance, not shewing what it is, but telleth plainly what it is, no less in Matthew and Mark unto the eye, than is done in Luke and Paul, by putting to this word ("cup") both unto the eye and to the ear.

For, taking the cup, and demonstrating or shewing it unto his disciples by this pronoun demonstrative ("this"), and saying unto them: "Drink ye all of this," it was then all one to say, "This is my blood;" as to say, "This cup is my blood," meaning by this cup, as the nature of the speech doth require, the thing contained in the cup. So likewise, without all doubt, when Christ had taken bread, given thanks, and broken it, and giving it to his disciples, said, "Take;" and so demonstrating and shewing that bread which he had in his hands, to say then, "This is my body:" and to have said, "This bread is my body." As it were all one, if a man, lacking a knife, and going to his oysters, would say to another, whom he saw to have two knives, "Sir, I pray you lend me the one of your knives:" were it not now all one to answer him: "Sir, hold, I will lend you this to eat your meat, but not to open oysters withal:" and "Hold, I will lend you this knife to eat your meat, but not to open oysters?"

This similitude serveth but for this purpose, to declare the nature of speech withal, where the thing that is demonstrated and shewed, is evidently perceived, and openly known to the eye: but, O good Lord, what a wonderful thing is it to see, how some men do labour to teach, what is demonstrated and shewed by the pronoun demonstrative, "this," in Christ's words, when he saith: "This is my body:"—"this is my blood:" how they labour (I say) to teach what that ("this") was then in deed, when Christ spake in the beginning of the sentence the word ("this"), before he had pronounced the rest

of the words that followed in the same sentence ; so that their doctrine may agree with their transubstantiation : which indeed is the very foundation wherein all their erroneous doctrine doth stand.

And here the transubstantiators do not agree among themselves, no more than they do in the words which wrought the transubstantiation, when Christ did first institute his sacrament. Wherein Innocentius, Bishop of Rome, of the latter days, and Duns (as was before noted), do attribute the work unto the word *benedixit*, " he blessed : " but the rest for the most part to *hoc est corpus meum*, " this is my body." Duns, therefore, with his sect, because he putteth the change before, must needs say, that (" this ") when Christ spake it in the beginning of the sentence, was indeed Christ's body. For in the change the substance of bread did depart, and the change was new done in (" benedixit) saith he, that went before. And therefore, after him and his, that (" this ") was then indeed Christ's body, though the word did not then import so much, but only one thing in substance, which substance, after Duns, the bread being gone, must needs be the substance of Christ's body.

But they that put their transubstantiation to be wrought by these words of Christ, " This is my body," and do say, that when the holy sentence was finished, then this change was perfected, and not before; they cannot say, but yet Christ's (" this ") in the beginning of the sentence before the other words were fully pronounced, was bread indeed. For as yet the change was not done, and so long the bread must needs remain : and so long as the substance of bread doth remain, so long, with the universal consent of all transubstantiators, the natural substance of Christ's body cannot come, and therefore must their (" this ") of necessity demonstrate

and shew the substance, which was as yet in the pronouncing of the first word ("this") by Christ, but bread.

But how can they make and verify Christ's words to be true, demonstrating the substance, which, in the demonstration, is but bread, and say thereof, "This is my body," that is, as they say, the natural substance of Christ's body? except they would say, that the verb ("is") signifieth, "is made," or "is changed into:" and so then, if the same verb ("is") be of the same effect in Christ's words spoken upon the cup, and rehearsed by Luke and Paul; the cup, or the wine in the cup, must be made or turned into the New Testament, as was declared before.

There be some among the transubstantiators, which walk so wilily and so warily betwixt these two aforesaid opinions, allowing them both, and holding plainly neither of them both, that methink they may be called neutrals, ambidexters, or rather such as can shift on both sides. They play on both parts, for with the latter they do all allow the doctrine of the last syllable, which is, that transubstantiation is done by miracle in an instant, at the sound of the last syllable ("*um*") in this sentence, *hoc est corpus meum*. And they do allow Duns' fantastical imagination of *individuum vagum*, that demonstrateth (as he teacheth) in Christ's words one thing in substance, then being (after his mind) the substance of the body of Christ.

A marvellous thing, how any man can agree with both those two, they being so contrary the one to the other. For the one saith the word ("this") demonstrateth the substance of bread, and the other saith, "No, not so: the bread is gone, and it demonstrateth a substance, which is Christ's body." —"Tush," saith the third man, "ye understand nothing at all: they agree well enough in the chief

point, which is the ground of all ; that is, both do agree and bear witness, that there is transubstantiation."

They do agree indeed in that conclusion, I grant, but their proofs and doctrine thereof do even as well agree together, as did the false witnesses before Annas and Caiaphas against Christ, or the two wicked judges against Susanna. For against Christ the false witnesses did agree, no doubt, to speak all against him. And the wicked judges were both agreed to condemn poor Susanna : but in examination of their witness, they dissented so far, that all was found false, that they went about ; both that wherein they agreed, and all those things which they brought for their proofs.

Thus much have I spoken, in searching out a solution for this principal question, which was, what is the material substance of the holy sacrament in the Lord's supper ?

Now, lest I should seem to set by my mine own conceit, more than is meet ; or less to regard the doctrine of the old ecclesiastical writers, than is convenient for a man of my poor learning and simple wit for to do : and because also I am indeed persuaded, that the old ecclesiastical writers understood the true meaning of Christ in this matter ; and have both so truly and so plainly set it forth in certain places of their writings, that no man, which will vouchsafe to read them, and without prejudice of a corrupt judgment will indifferently weigh them, and construe their minds none otherwise than they declare themselves to have meant : I am persuaded (I say) that in reading of them thus, no man can be ignorant in this matter, but he that will shut up his own eyes, and blindfold himself.

When I speak of ecclesiastical writers, I mean of such as were before the wicked usurpation of the

See of Rome was grown so unmeasurably great, that not only with tyrannical power, but also with corrupt doctrine, it began to subvert Christ's Gospel, and to turn the state, that Christ and his Apostles set in the church, upside down.

For the causes aforesaid, I will rehearse certain of their sayings: and yet because I take them but for witnesses and expounders of this doctrine, and not as the authors of the same; and also for that now I will not be tedious, I will rehearse but few: that is, three old writers of the Greek church, and other three of the Latin church, which do seem unto me to be in this matter most plain: the Greek authors are Origen, Chrysostom, and Theodoret: the Latin are Tertullian, St. Austin, and Gelasius.

I know, there can be nothing spoken so plainly, but the crafty wit, furnished with eloquence, can darken it, and wrest it quite from the true meaning to a contrary sense. And I know also the eloquence, craft, and fineness of wit, hath gone about to blear men's eyes, and to stop their ears in the aforesaid writers, that men should neither hear nor see what those authors both write and teach so plainly, that except men should be made both stark blind and deaf, they cannot but of necessity, if they will read and weigh them indifferently, both hear and see what they do mean, when eloquence, craft, and fineness of wit, have done all that they can. Now let us hear the old writers of the Greek church.

Origen, which lived above twelve hundred and fifty years ago; a man, for the excellency of his learning, so highly esteemed in Christ's church, that he was counted and judged the singular teacher, in his time, of Christ's religion, the confounder of heresies, the schoolmaster of many godly martyrs, and an opener of the high mysteries in Scripture:

he, writing upon the 15th chapter of St. Matthew's Gospel, saith thus :

“ But if any thing enter into the mouth, it goeth away into the belly, and is voided into the draught. Yea, and that meat which is sanctified by the word of God and prayer, concerning the matter thereof, it goeth away into the belly, and is voided into the draught. But, for the prayer which is added unto it, for the proportion of the faith, it is made profitable, making the mind able to perceive and to see that which is profitable. For it is not the material substance of bread, but the word, which is spoken upon it, that is profitable to the man, that eateth it not unworthily. And this I mean of the typical and symbolical (that is, sacramental) body.”

Thus far go the words of Origen, where it is plain, first, that Origen, speaking here of the sacrament of the Lord's supper, as the last words do plainly signify, doth mean and teach, that the material substance thereof is received, digested, and voided, as the material substance of other bread and meats is : which could not be, if there were no material substance of bread at all, as the fantastical opinion of transubstantiation doth put. It is a world to see the answer of the Papists to this place of Origen. In the disputations, which were in this matter in the parliament house, and in both the universities of Cambridge and Oxford, they that defended transubstantiation said, that this part of Origen was but set forth of late by Erasmus, and therefore is to be suspected. But how vain this their answer is, it appeareth plainly. For so may all the good old authors, which lay in old libraries, and are set forth of late, be by this reason rejected: as Clemens Alexandrinus, Theodoretus, Justinus, Ecclesiastica Historia Nicephori, and other such.

Another answer they had, saying, that Origen is noted to have erred in some points, and therefore faith is not to be given in this matter unto him. But this answer, well weighed, doth minister good matter to the clear confutation of itself. For indeed we grant that in some points Origen did err. But those errors are gathered out and noted both of St. Jerome and Epiphanius, so that his works (those errors excepted) are now so much the more of authority, that such great learned men took pains to take out of him whatsoever they thought in him to be written amiss. But as concerning the matter of the Lord's supper, neither they nor yet ever any other ancient author did ever say, that Origen did err.

Now because these two answers have been of late so confuted and confounded, that it is well perceived, that they will take no place: therefore some, which have written since that time, have forged two other answers, even of the same mould. The former whereof is, that Origen in this place spake not of the sacrament of bread or wine of the Lord's table, but of another mystical meat: of the which St. Austin maketh mention to be given unto them, that were taught the faith, before they were baptized. But Origen's own words in two sentences before rehearsed, being put together, prove this answer untrue. For he saith, that "he meaneth of that figurative and mystical body, which profiteth them, that do receive it worthily:" alluding so plainly unto St. Paul's words, spoken of the Lord's supper, that it is a shame for any learned man once to open his mouth to the contrary. And that bread which St. Austin speaketh of, he cannot prove that any such thing was used in Origen's time. Yea, and though that could be proved, yet was there never bread in any time called a sacramental bread of the Lord's

table, which is called of Origen the typical and symbolical body of Christ.

The second of the two new-found answers is yet most monstrous of all other, which is this: "But let us grant (say they) that Origen spake of the Lord's supper, and by the matter thereof was understood the material substance of bread and wine: what then?" say they. "For though the material substance was once gone and departed by reason of transubstantiation, whilst the forms of the bread and wine did remain: yet now it is no inconveniency to say, that as the material substance did depart at the entering in of Christ's body under the afore-said forms: so when the said forms be destroyed and do not remain, then cometh again the substance of bread and wine. And this," say they, "is very meet in this mystery, that that which began with a miracle, shall end in a miracle."

If I had not read this fantasy, I would scarcely have believed, that any learned man ever would have set forth such a foolish fantasy; which not only lacketh all ground either of God's word, reason, or of any ancient writer, but is also clean contrary to the common rules of school divinity: which is, that no miracle is to be affirmed and put without necessity. And although for their former miracle, which is their transubstantiation, they have some colour, though it be but vain, saying, it is done by the power and virtue of these words of Christ, "This is my body;" yet to make this second miracle, of returning the material substance again, they have no colour at all. Or else, I pray them shew me, by what words of Christ is that second miracle wrought? Thus ye may see, that the sleights and shifts, which craft and wit can invent, to wrest the true sense of Origen, cannot take place. But now let us hear one other place of Origen, and so we will let him go.

Origen, in the second Homily, *super Leviticum*, saith, That there is also even in the four Gospels, and not only in the Old Testament, a letter (meaning a literal sense), which killeth : for if thou follow (saith he) the letter in that saying, " Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man, and drink his blood, &c." this letter doth kill. If in that place the letter doth kill, wherein is commanded the eating of Christ's flesh : then surely in those words of Christ, wherein Christ commandeth us to eat his body, the literal sense thereof likewise doth kill. For it is no less crime, but even the same and all one in the literal sense, to eat Christ's body, and to eat Christ's flesh. Wherefore, if the one do kill, except it be understood figuratively and spiritually ; then the other surely doth kill likewise. But that to eat Christ's flesh doth kill, so understood, Origen affirmeth plainly in his words above rehearsed : wherefore, it cannot be justly denied, but to eat Christ's body, literally understood, must needs (after him) kill likewise.

The answer that is made to this place of Origen of the Papists is so foolish, that it bewrayeth itself without any further confutation. It is the same, that they make to a place of St. Austin, in his book *De Doctrina Christiana*, whereas St. Austin speaketh in effect the same thing that Origen doth here. The Papists' answer is this : to the carnal man the literal sense is hurtful, but not so to the spiritual. As though to understand that in its proper sense, which ought to be taken figuratively, were to the carnal man a dangerous peril, but to the spiritual man none at all.

Now to Chrysostom, whom I bring for the second writer in the Greek church. He, speaking of the unholy using of man's body, which, after St. Paul, ought to be kept pure and holy, as the very temple

of the Holy Ghost, saith thus: "If it be a fault (saith he) to translate the holy vessels (in the which is not contained the true body of Christ, but the mystery of the body) to private uses, how much more offence is it to abuse and defile the vessels of our body?" These be the words of Chrysostom: but, I trow, that here many foul shifts are devised to defeat this place. "The author," saith one, "is suspected:" I answer, but in this place never fault was found with him unto these our days. And whether the author were John Chrysostom himself, the archbishop of Constantinople, or no, that is not the matter: for of all it is granted, that he was a writer of that age, and a man of learning. So that it is manifest, that this which he writeth was the received opinion of learned men in his days, or else undoubtedly in such a matter his saying should have been impugned of some that wrote in his time, or near unto the same. "Nay," saith another, "if this solution will not serve, we may say, that Chrysostom did not speak of the vessels of the Lord's cup, or such as were then used at the Lord's table, but of the vessels used in the temple of the old law.

This answer will serve no more than the other. For here Chrysostom speaketh of such vessels, wherein was that which was called the body of Christ, although it was not the true body (saith he) of Christ, but the mystery of Christ's body. Now of the vessels of the old law, the writers do use no such manner of phrase: for their sacrifices were not called Christ's body: for then Christ was not, but in shadows and figures, and not by the sacrament of his body revealed. Erasmus, which was a man that could understand the words and sense of the writer, although he would not be seen to speak against this error of transubstantiation, because he durst not;

yet in his time declareth plainly, that this saying of this writer is none otherwise to be understood.

“ Yet can I (saith the third Papist) find out a fine and subtle solution for this place, and grant all that yet is said, both allowing here the writer, and also that he meant of the vessels of the Lord's table. For (saith he) the body of Christ is not contained in them, at the Lord's table, as in a place, but as in a mystery.” Is not this a pretty shift, and a mystical solution? But by the same solution then Christ's body is not in the Lord's table, nor in the priest's hand, nor in the pix, and so he is here no where. For they will not say, that he is either here or there, as in a place. This answer pleaseth so well the maker, that he himself (after he had played with it a little while, and sheweth the fineness of his wit and eloquence therein) is content to give it over and say: But it is not to be thought, that Chrysostom would speak after this fineness or subtlety: and therefore he returneth again unto the second answer for his sheet anchor, which is sufficiently confuted before.

Another short place of Chrysostom I will rehearse, which (if any indifferencce may be heard) in plain terms setteth forth the truth of this matter. Before the bread (saith Chrysostom, writing *ad Cæsarium monachum*) be hallowed, we call it bread, but the grace of God sanctifying it by the means of the priest, it is delivered now from the name of bread, and esteemed worthy to be called Christ's body, although the nature of bread abide in it still. These be Chrysostom's words, wherein I pray you, what can be said or thought more plain against this error of transubstantiation, than to declare, that the bread abideth so still? And yet this so plain a place some are not ashamed thus shamefully to clude it, saying: We grant the nature of bread remaineth still thus,

for that it may be seen, felt, and tasted : and yet the corporeal substance of the bread therefore is gone, lest two bodies should be confused together, and Christ should be thought impanate.

What contrariety and falsehood is in this answer, the simple man may easily perceive. Is not this plain contrariety, to grant that the nature of bread remaineth so still, that it may be seen, felt, and tasted, and yet to say, the corporeal substance is gone, to avoid the absurdity of Christ's impanation ? And what manifest falsehood is this, to say or mean, that if the bread should remain still, then must follow the inconveniency of impanation ? As though the very bread could not be a sacrament of Christ's body (as water is of baptism), except Christ should unite the nature of bread to his nature, in unity of person, and make of the bread, God.

Now let us hear Theodoretus, which is the last of the three authors. He writeth in his dialogue, *cont. Eutychen*, thus : " He that called his natural body corn and bread, and also named himself a vine tree : even he, the same, hath honoured the symbols (that is, the sacramental signs) with the names of his body and blood, not changing indeed the nature itself, but adding grace unto the nature." What can be more plainly said than this, that this old writer saith ? Although the sacraments bear the name of the body and blood of Christ, yet is not their nature changed, but abideth still. And where is then the Papists' transubstantiation ?

The same writer in the second dialogue of the same work against the aforesaid heretic Eutiches, writeth yet more plainly against this error of transubstantiation, if any thing can be said to be more plain. For he maketh the heretic to speak thus against him that defendeth the true doctrine, whom he calleth Orthodoxus : as the sacraments of the body and blood of our Lord are one thing before the invocation, and

after the invocation they be changed, and are made another; so likewise the Lord's body (saith the heretic) is, after the assumption or ascension into heaven, turned into the substance of God: the heretic meaning thereby, that Christ, after his ascension, remaineth no more a man.

To this Orthodoxus answereth thus, and saith to the heretic: "Thou art taken (saith he) in thine own snare; for those mystical symbols or sacraments, after the sanctification, do not go out of their own nature, but they tarry and abide still in their substance, figure, and shape; yea, and are sensibly seen, and groped to be the same they were before, &c." At these words the Papists do startle, and to say the truth, these words be so plain, so full, and so clear, that they cannot tell what to say; but yet will not cease to go about to play the cuttles, and to cast their colours over them, that the truth, which is so plainly told, should not have place. This author wrote (say they) before the determination of the church. As who would say, whatsoever that wicked man Innocentius, the Pope of Rome, determined in his congregations with his monks and friars, that must needs be (for so Duns saith) holden for an article, and of the substance of our faith.

Some do charge this author, that he was suspected to be a Nestorian, which thing in Chalcedon council was tried, and proved to be false. But the foulest shift of all, and yet the best that they can find in this matter, when none other will serve, is, to say, that Theodoret understandeth by the word substance, accidents, and not substance indeed. This gloss is like a gloss of a lawyer upon a decree, the text whereof beginneth thus: *Statuimus*, that is, we decree. The gloss of the lawyer there after many other pretty shifts, there set forth, which he thinketh will not well serve to his purpose, and therefore at the last, to

clear the matter, he saith thus: after the mind of one lawyer, *vel dic* (saith he) *statuimus, id est, abrogamus*, that is, as expounded, we do decree, that is, we do abrogate or disannul. Is not this a worthy and goodly gloss? Who will not say, but he is worthy in the law to be retained of counsel, that can gloss so well, and find in a matter of difficulty such fine shifts: and yet this is the law, or at the least the gloss of the law. And therefore who can tell what peril a man may incur to speak against it, except he were a lawyer indeed, which can keep himself out of the briers, what wind soever blow?

Hitherto ye have heard the writers of the Greek church, not all what they do say, for that were a labour too great for to gather, and too tedious for the reader, but one or two places of every one. The which how plain, and how full and clear they be against the error of transubstantiation, I refer it to the judgment of the indifferent reader. And now I will likewise rehearse the sayings of other three old ancient writers of the Latin church, and so make an end. And first I will begin with Tertullian, whom Cyprian, the holy martyr, so highly esteemed, that whensoever he would have his book, he was wont to say, "Give me the master."

This old writer, in his fourth book against Marcion, the heretic, saith thus: "Jesus made the bread, which he took and distributed to his disciples, his body, saying, This is my body, that is to say (saith Tertullian), a figure of my body." In this place it is plain, that after Tertullian's exposition, Christ meant not by calling the bread his body, and the wine his blood, that either the bread was his natural body, or the wine his natural blood; but he called them his body and blood, because he would institute them to be unto us sacraments: that is, holy tokens and signs of his body and of his blood: that by them remembering, and firmly believing the

benefits procured to us by his body, which was torn and crucified for us, and of his blood which was shed for us upon the cross, and so with thanks receiving these holy sacraments, according to Christ's institution, might by the same be spiritually nourished and fed to the increase of all godliness in us here in our pilgrimage and journey, wherein we walk unto everlasting life.

This was undoubtedly Christ our Saviour's mind, and this is Tertullian's exposition. The wrangling that the Papists do make to elude this saying of Tertullian, is so far out of frame, that it even wearieth me to think on it. "Tertullian writeth here (say they) as none hath done hitherto before him, neither yet any other catholic man after him."

This saying is manifestly false: for Origen, Hilary, Ambrose, Basil, Gregory Nazianzen, St. Austin, and other old authors likewise, do call the sacrament a figure of Christ's body. And where they say, that Tertullian wrote this when in a heat of disputation with an heretic, coveting by all means to overthrow his adversary; as who should say, he would not take heed what he did say, and specially what he would write in so high a matter, so that he might have the better hand of his adversary: is this credible to be true in any godly wise man? How much less then is it worthy to be thought or credited in a man of so great a wit, learning, and excellency as Tertullian is worthily ever esteemed for to have been?

Likewise this author in his first book against the same heretic Marcion writeth thus: "God did not reject bread, which is his creature: for by it he hath made a representation of his body." Now I pray you, what is this to say, that Christ hath made a representation (by bread) of his body, but that Christ had instituted and ordained bread to be a sacrament, for to represent unto us his body? Now whether the

representation of one thing by another requireth the corporeal presence of the thing which is so represented or no, every man that hath understanding is able in this point (the matter is so clear of itself) to be a sufficient judge.

The second doctor and writer of the Latin church (whose saying I promised to set forth) is St. Austin : of whose learning and estimation I need not to speak. For all the church of Christ both hath and ever hath had him, for a man of most singular learning, wit, and diligence, both in setting forth the true doctrine of Christ's religion, and also in defence of the same against heretics.

This author, as he hath written most plenteously in other matters of our faith, so likewise in this argument he hath written at large in many of his works so plainly against this error of transubstantiation, that the Papists love least to hear of him of all other writers : partly for his authority, and partly because he openeth the matter more fully than any other doth. Therefore I will rehearse more places of him, than heretofore I have done of the other.

And first what can be more plain, than that which he writeth upon the 89th Psalm, speaking of the sacrament of the Lord's body and blood ; and rehearsing (as it were) Christ's words to his disciples, after this manner : " It is not this body, which ye do see, that ye shall eat, neither shall ye drink this blood, which the soldiers that crucified me shall spill or shed : I do commend unto you a mystery, or a sacrament, which spiritually understood shall give you life." Now if Christ had no more natural and corporal bodies, but that one which they then presently both heard and saw, nor other natural blood, but that which was in the same body, and the which the soldiers did afterward cruelly shed upon the cross : and neither this body nor this blood was (by this declaration of St. Austin) either to be eaten or drunken,

but the mystery thereof spiritually to be understood: then I conclude (if this saying and exposition of St. Austin be true) that the mystery which the disciples should eat, was not the natural body of Christ, but a mystery of the same, spiritually to be understood.

For as St. Austin saith, in his 20th book *cont. Faustum*, “ Christ’s flesh and blood was in the Old Testament promised by similitudes and signs of their sacrifices, and was exhibited in deed and in truth upon the cross, but the same is celebrated by a sacrament of remembrance upon the altar. And in his book *De Fide ad Petrum*, cap. 19. he saith, that “ In these sacrifices, meaning of the old law, it is figuratively signified what was then to be given: but in this sacrifice it is evidently signified, what is already given (understanding in the sacrifice upon the altar), the remembrance and thanksgiving for the flesh, which he offered for us upon the cross: as in the same place evidently there it may appear.”

Another evident and clear place, wherein it appeareth, that by the sacramental bread, which Christ called his body, he meant, “ a figure of his body,” is upon the third Psalm, where St. Austin speaketh thus in plain terms: “ Christ did admit Judas unto the feast, in the which he commended unto his disciples *the figure of his body*.” This was Christ’s last supper before his passion, wherein he did ordain the sacrament of his body, as all learned men do agree.

St. Austin also in his 23d Epistle to Bonifacius, teacheth how sacraments do bear the names of the things, whereof they be sacraments, both in baptism and in the Lord’s table; even as we call every Good Friday, the day of Christ’s passion; and every Easter Day, the day of Christ’s resurrection: when in very deed there was but one day wherein he suffered, and

but one day wherein he rose. And why do we then call them so, which are not so indeed, but because they are in like time and course of the year, as those days were, wherein those things were done?

Was Christ (saith St. Austin) offered any more but once? And he offered himself. And yet in a sacrament or representation, not only every solemn feast of Easter, but also every day to the people he is offered. So that he doth not lie, that saith, "He is every day offered." For if sacraments had not some similitude or likeness of those things, whereof they be sacraments, they could in no wise be sacraments: and for their similitudes and likeness commonly they have the name of the things whereof they be sacraments. Therefore, as after a certain manner of speech, the sacrament of Christ's body is Christ's body, the sacrament of Christ's blood is Christ's blood; so likewise the sacrament of faith is faith.

After this manner of speech, as St. Austin teacheth in his question, *Super Leviticum 3 cont. Adamantum*, it is "said in Scripture, that seven ears of corn be seven years; and 'the rock was Christ;' and blood is the soul: the which last saying (saith St. Austin in his book *cont. Adamant.*) is understood to be spoken in a sign or figure; for the Lord himself did not stick to say, 'This is my body,' when he gave the sign of his body."—"For we must not consider in sacraments (saith St. Austin in another place) what they be, but what they do signify. For they be signs of things, being one thing in themselves, and yet signifying another thing."—"For the heavenly bread (saith he), speaking of the sacramental bread, by some manner of speech is called Christ's body, when in very deed it is the sacrament of his body, &c."

What can be more plain or more clearly spoken,

than are these places of St. Austin before rehearsed, if men were not obstinately bent to maintain an untruth, and to receive nothing, whatsoever doth set it forth? Yet one place more of St. Austin will I allege, which is very clear to this purpose, that Christ's natural body is in heaven, and not here corporally in the sacrament, and so let him depart.

In his 50th Treatise, which he writeth upon John, he teacheth plainly and clearly, how Christ, being both God and man, is both here, after a certain manner, and yet in heaven, and not here in his natural body and substance which he took of the blessed Virgin Mary, speaking thus of Christ, and saying, "By his divine majesty, by his providence, by his unspeakable and invisible grace, that is fulfilled which he spake: 'Behold, I am with you to the end of the world.' But, as concerning his flesh which he took in his incarnation; as touching that which was born of the Virgin; as concerning that which was apprehended by the Jews, and crucified upon a tree, and taken down from the cross, wrapped in linen clothes, and buried, and rose again, and appeared after his resurrection; as concerning that flesh, he said, 'Ye shall not ever have me with you.' Why so? For as concerning his flesh, he was conversant with his disciples forty days, and they accompanying, seeing, and not following him, he went up into heaven, and is not here. By the presence of his divine majesty, he did not depart; as concerning the presence of his divine majesty, we have Christ ever with us: but, as concerning the presence of his flesh, he said truly to his disciples; 'Ye shall not ever have me with you.' For, as concerning the presence of his flesh, the church had him but a few days: now it holdeth him by faith, though it see him not."

Thus much St. Austin speaketh, repeating one

thing so often : and all to declare and teach how we should understand the manner of Christ's being here with us, which is by his grace, by his providence, and by his divine nature ; and how he is absent by his natural body which was born of the Virgin Mary, died, and rose for us, and is ascended into heaven, and there sitteth, as it is in the articles of our faith, on the right hand of God, and thence (and from none other place saith St. Austin) he shall come on the latter day, to judge the quick and the dead. At the which day the righteous shall then lift up their heads, and the light of God's truth shall so shine, that falsehood and errors shall be put to perpetual confusion. Righteousness shall have the upper hand, and truth that day shall bear away the victory ; and all the enemies thereof be quite overthrown, to be trodden under foot for evermore. O Lord, Lord, I beseech thee, hasten this day. Then shalt thou be glorified with glory, due unto thy divine majesty : and we shall sing unto thee in all joy, all felicity, laud and praise for evermore. Amen.

Here now would I make an end : for methink, St. Austin is in this matter so full and plain, and of that authority, that it should not need, after this his declaration, being so firmly grounded upon God's word, and so well agreeing with other ancient authors, to bring in for the confirmation of this matter any more. And yet I said, I would allege three of the Latin church, to testify the truth in this cause. Now, therefore, the last of all shall be Gelasius, which was a bishop of Rome : but one that was bishop of that See, before the wicked usurpation and tyranny thereof spread and burst out into all the world. For this man was before Bonifacius, yea, and Gregory the First : in whose days both corruption of doctrine and tyrannical usurpation did chiefly grow, and had the upper hand.

Gelasius, in an epistle of the two natures of Christ, *contra Eutichen*, writeth thus: "The sacraments of the body and blood of Christ, which we receive, are godly things, whereby, and by the same, we are made partakers of the divine nature; and yet nevertheless the substance or nature of the bread and wine doth not depart or go away." Note these words, I beseech you, and consider whether any thing can be more plainly spoken, than these words against the error of transubstantiation: which is the ground and bitter root whereupon spring all the horrible errors before rehearsed.

Wherefore, seeing, that the falsehood hereof doth appear so manifestly, and by so many ways, so plainly, so clearly, and so fully, that no man needeth to be deceived, but he that will not see, or will not understand: let us all that do love the truth embrace it, and forsake the falsehood. For he that loveth the truth is of God: and the lack of the love thereof is the cause why God suffereth men to fall into errors, and to perish therein: yea, and as St. Paul saith, why he sendeth unto them illusions, that they believe lies, unto their own condemnation: "because (saith he) they love not the truth."

This truth, no doubt, is God's word: for Christ himself saith unto his Father: "Thy word is truth." The love and light whereof Almighty God our heavenly Father give us, and lighten it in our hearts by his holy Spirit, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

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The first of these is the fact that the United States is a young nation, and its history is therefore a history of growth and development. The second is the fact that the United States is a large nation, and its history is therefore a history of expansion and conquest. The third is the fact that the United States is a diverse nation, and its history is therefore a history of conflict and compromise. The fourth is the fact that the United States is a nation of immigrants, and its history is therefore a history of assimilation and adaptation. The fifth is the fact that the United States is a nation of pioneers, and its history is therefore a history of exploration and discovery. The sixth is the fact that the United States is a nation of entrepreneurs, and its history is therefore a history of innovation and invention. The seventh is the fact that the United States is a nation of reformers, and its history is therefore a history of social and political change. The eighth is the fact that the United States is a nation of idealists, and its history is therefore a history of high aspirations and noble goals. The ninth is the fact that the United States is a nation of pragmatists, and its history is therefore a history of practical solutions and realistic policies. The tenth is the fact that the United States is a nation of optimists, and its history is therefore a history of hope and faith in the future.

The history of the United States is a story of a nation that has grown from a small colony to a great power. It is a story of a nation that has expanded its territory from the Atlantic coast to the Pacific Ocean. It is a story of a nation that has fought for its freedom and independence. It is a story of a nation that has struggled to overcome its many problems and challenges. It is a story of a nation that has achieved many great things and made many important contributions to the world. The history of the United States is a story of a nation that is full of life and energy, and that is always moving forward.

The history of the United States is a story of a nation that has been shaped by many different forces. It is a story of a nation that has been shaped by its geography, its climate, its resources, and its people. It is a story of a nation that has been shaped by its history, its culture, its values, and its beliefs. The history of the United States is a story of a nation that is constantly evolving and changing, and that is always adapting to new circumstances and challenges. The history of the United States is a story of a nation that is full of potential and possibility, and that is always reaching for the stars.

The history of the United States is a story of a nation that is proud of its past, but that is also looking to the future. It is a story of a nation that is grateful for its many achievements, but that is also aware of its many challenges. The history of the United States is a story of a nation that is always striving to be better, and that is always working to make the world a better place.

LETTERS
WRITTEN TO DIFFERENT FRIENDS,
DURING HIS CONFINEMENT,

BY

Bishop Ridley.

*Reprinted from Bishop Coverdale's Epistles of the
Martyrs, Ed. 1564.*

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LETTERS OF BISHOP RIDLEY.

To the brethren remaining in captivity of the flesh, and dispersed abroad in sundry prisons, but knit together in unity of spirit and holy religion in the bowels of the Lord Jesus.

Grace, peace, and mercy be multiplied among you. What worthy thanks can be rendered unto the Lord for you my brethren, namely, for the great consolation, which through you we have received in the Lord; who, notwithstanding the rage of Satan, that goeth about by all manner of subtle means to beguile the world, and also busily laboureth to restore and set up his kingdom again, that of late began to decay and fall to ruin, ye remain yet still unmoveable, as men surely grounded upon a strong rock.

And now, albeit that Satan by his soldiers and wicked ministers daily (as we hear) draweth numbers unto him, so that it is said of him, that he plucketh even the very stars out of heaven: while he driveth into some men the fear of death and loss of all their goods, and sheweth and offereth to other some, the pleasant baits of the world; namely, riches, wealth, and all kinds of delights and pleasures, fair houses, great revenues, fat benefices, and what not: and all to the intent they should fall down and worship, not in the Lord but in the dragon, the old serpent, which is the devil, that great beast and his image, and should be enticed to commit fornication with the strumpet of Babylon, together with the kings of the earth, with the lesser beast, and with the false prophets, and so to rejoice and be pleasant with her, and to be drunken with the wine of her fornication.

Yet, blessed be God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, which hath given unto you a manly courage.

and hath so strengthened you in the inward man, by the power of his Spirit, that you can contemn, as well all the terrors, as also the vain flattering allurements of the world; esteeming them as vanities, mere trifles, and things of nought. Who hath also wrought, planted, and surely stablished in your hearts so stedfast a faith and love of our Lord Jesus Christ, joined with such constancy, that by no engines of antichrist, be they never so terrible or plausible, ye will suffer any other Jesus or any other Christ to be forced upon you, besides him whom the prophets have spoken of before, the apostles have preached, and the holy martyrs of God have confessed and testified, with the effusion of their blood.

In this faith stand ye fast, my brethren, and suffer not yourselves to be brought under the yoke of bondage and superstition any more. For ye know, brethren, how that our Saviour warned his beforehand, that such should come as would point unto the world another Christ, and would set him out with so many false miracles and with such deceivable and subtle practices, that even the very elect (if it were possible) should be thereby deceived: such strong delusions to come did our Saviour give warning of before. But continue ye faithful and constant, and be of good comfort, and remember, that our grand Captain hath overcome the world; for He that is in us, is stronger than he that is in the world, and the Lord promiseth unto us that for the elect's sake the days of wickedness shall be shortened.

In the mean season abide ye and endure with patience, as ye have begun: endure I say, and "reserve yourselves unto better times," as one of the heathen poets said. Cease not to shew yourselves valiant soldiers of the Lord, and help to maintain the travailing faith of the Gospel. Ye have need of patience, that after ye have done the will of God,

ye may receive the promises. For “yet a very little while, and He that shall come will come, and will not tarry,” and “the just shall live by faith: but if any withdraw himself, my soul shall have no pleasure in him (saith the Lord). But we are not them, which do withdraw ourselves unto damnation, but believe unto the salvation of the soul.”

Let us not suffer these words of Christ to fall out of our hearts, by any manner of terrors or threatenings of the world: “fear not them which kill the body,” the rest ye know. For I write not unto you, as to men which are ignorant of the truth, but which know the truth, and to this end only, that we agreeing together in one faith, may take comfort one of another, and be the more confirmed and strengthened thereby. We never had a better or more just cause either to condemn our life, or shed our blood: we cannot take in hand the defence of a more certain, clear, and manifest truth. For it is not any ceremony for the which we contend, but it toucheth the very substance of our whole religion, yea, even Christ himself.

Shall we, either can we receive and acknowledge any other Christ instead of him, who is alone the everlasting Son of the everlasting Father, and is the brightness of the glory, and lively image of the substance of the Father, in whom only dwelleth corporally the fulness of the Godhead, who is the only way, the truth, and the life? Let such wickedness (my brethren), let such horrible wickedness be far from us. For “although there be, that are called gods, whether in heaven, either in earth, as there be many gods and many lords, yet unto us there is but one God, which is the Father, of whom are all things and we in him; and one Lord, Jesus Christ, by whom are all things, and we by him: but every man hath not knowledge. “This is life eternal (saith St.

John), that they know thee to be the only true God and whom thou hast sent, Jesus Christ." If any therefore would force upon us any other god besides him, whom Paul and the Apostles have taught, let us not hear him, but let us fly from him, and hold him accursed.

Brethren, ye are not ignorant of the deep and profound subtilties of Satan, for he will not cease to rage about you, seeking by all means possible whom he may devour : but play ye the men, and be of good comfort in the Lord. And albeit your enemies and the adversaries of the truth, armed with all worldly force and power that may be, do set upon you : yet be not ye faint-hearted, nor shrink therefore ; but trust unto your Captain, Christ, trust unto the Spirit of truth, and trust unto the truth of your cause, which, as it may by the malice of Satan be darkened, so can it never be clean put out. For we have (high praise be given to God therefore) most plainly, evidently, and clearly on our side, all the prophets, all the apostles, and undoubtedly all the ancient ecclesiastical writers, which have written, until of late years past.

Let us be hearty and of good courage, therefore, and throughly comfort ourselves in the Lord. " Be in no wise afraid of your adversaries, for that, which is to them an occasion of perdition, is to you a sure token of salvation, and that of God. For unto you it is given, that not only ye should believe on him, but also suffer for his sake." And when ye are railed upon for the name of Christ, remember that by the voice of Peter, yea, and of Christ our Saviour also, ye are counted with the prophets, with the apostles and with the holy martyrs of Christ, happy and blessed therefore : " for the glory and spirit of God resteth upon you. On their part our Saviour Christ is evil spoken of, but on your part he is glorified."

For what can they else do unto you by persecuting

you, and working all cruelty and villany against you, but make your crowns more glorious, yea, beautify and multiply the same, and heap upon themselves the horrible plagues and heavy wrath of God? And therefore, good brethren, though they rage never so fiercely against us, yet let us not wish evil unto them again, knowing, that whilst for Christ's cause they vex and persecute us, they are like mad-men, most outrageous and cruel against themselves, heaping hot burning coals upon their own heads: but rather let us wish well unto them, knowing that we are thereunto called in Christ Jesus, that we should be heirs of the blessing.

Let us pray therefore unto God, that he would drive out of their hearts this darkness of errors, and make the light of his truth to shine unto them, that they, acknowledging their blindness, may with all humble repentance be converted unto the Lord, and together with us confess him to be the only true God, which is the Father of light, and his only Son Jesus Christ, worshipping him in spirit and verity. Amen.

The spirit of our Lord Jesus Christ comfort your hearts in the love of God and patience of Christ. Amen.

Your brother in the Lord, whose name this bearer shall signify unto you, ready always by the grace of God to live and die with you.

To our brethren which constantly cleave unto Christ in suffering affliction with him and for his sake.

Grace and peace from God the Father and from our Lord Jesus Christ be multiplied unto you, Amen.

Although, brethren, we have of late heard nothing

from you, neither have at this present any news to send you: yet we thought good something to write unto you, whereby ye might understand, that we have good remembrance of you continually, as we doubt not, but ye have of us also. When this messenger, coming unto us from you of late, had brought us good tidings of your great constancy, fortitude, and patience in the Lord, we were filled with much joy and gladness, giving thanks to God the Father, through our Lord Jesus Christ, which hath caused his face so to shine upon you, and with the light of spiritual understanding hath so lightened your hearts, that now, being in captivity and bands for Christ's cause, ye have not ceased, as much as in you lieth, by words, but much more by deed and by your example, to establish and confirm that thing, which, when ye were at liberty in the world, ye laboured to publish and set abroad by the word, and doctrine: that is to say, "holding fast the word of life, ye shine as lights in the world in the midst of a wicked and crooked nation," and that with so much the greater glory of our Lord Jesus Christ and profit of your brethren, by how much more cruelly Satan now rageth and busily laboureth to darken the light of the Gospel.

And as for the darkness that Satan now bringeth upon the church of England, who needeth to doubt thereof? Of late time our Saviour Christ, his apostles, prophets, and teachers, spake in the temple to the people of England in the English tongue, so that they might understand plainly and without any hardness, of the godly and such as sought for heavenly knowledge in matters, which of necessity of salvation pertained to the obtaining of eternal life; but now those things, which once were written of them for the edifying of the congregation, are read in a strange tongue without interpretation, manifestly

against St. Paul's commandment, so that there is no man able to understand them, which hath not learned that strange and unknown tongue.

Of late days those heavenly mysteries, whereby Christ hath engrafted us into his body, and hath united us one to another; whereby also being regenerate and born anew unto God, he hath nourished, increased, and strengthened us; whereby, moreover, either he hath taught and set forth an order amongst them, which are whole, or else to the sick in soul or body hath given, as it were, wholesome medicines and remedies: those I say, were all plainly set forth to the people in their own language, so that what great and exceeding good things every man had received of God, what duty every one owed to another by God's ordinance, what every one had professed in his vocation and was bound to observe, where remedy was to be had for the weak and feeble: he to whom God hath given a desire and willing heart to understand those things, might soon perceive and understand.

But now all these things are taught and set forth in such sort that the people, redeemed with Christ's blood, and for whose sake they were by Christ himself ordained, can have no manner of understanding thereof at all. Of late (forasmuch as we know not how to pray as we ought) our Lord Jesus Christ in his prayer, whereof he would have no man ignorant, and also the Holy Ghost in the psalms, hymns, and spiritual songs, which are set forth in the Bible, did teach and instruct all the people of England in the English tongue, that they might ask such things, as are according to the will of the Father, and might join their hearts and lips in prayer together. But now all these things are commanded to be hid and shut up from them in a strange tongue, whereby it must needs follow, that the people neither can tell

how to pray, nor what to pray for : and how *can* they join their hearts and voice together, when they understand no more what the voice signifieth, than a brute beast?

Finally, I here say, that the catechism, which was lately set forth in the English tongue, is now in every pulpit condemned. Oh ! devilish malice, and most spitefully injurious to the salvation of mankind purchased by Jesus Christ. Indeed Satan could not suffer that so great light should be spread abroad in the world ; he saw well enough that nothing was able to overthrow his kingdom so much, as if children, being godly instructed in religion, should learn to know Christ while they are yet young ; whereby not only children, but the elder sort also and aged folks, that before were not taught to know Christ in their childhood, should now even with children and babes be forced to learn to know him. Now therefore he roareth, now he rageth.

But what else do they, brethren, which serve Satan, and become his ministers and slaves in maintaining of his impiety, but even the same which they did, to whom Christ our Saviour threateneth this curse in the Gospel : “ Woe unto you, which shut up the kingdom of heaven before men, and take away the key of knowledge from them ; ye yourselves have not entered in, neither have ye suffered them that would enter, to come in.”

And from whence shall we say (brethren), that this horrible and mischievous darkness proceedeth, which is now brought into the world ? From whence, I pray you, but even from the smoke of the great furnace of the bottomless pit, so that the sun and the air are now darkened by the smoke of the pit ? Now, even now (out of doubt, brethren), the pit is opened against us, and the locusts begin to swarm, and Abaddon now reigneth.

Ye, therefore, my brethren, which pertain unto

Christ, and have the seal of God marked in your foreheads, that is to wit, are sealed with the earnest of his Spirit to be a peculiar people of God, quit yourselves like men, and be strong: “For He that is in us, is stronger than he which is in the world; and ye know that all that is born of God overcometh the world; and this is our victory that overcometh the world, even our faith.”

Let the world fret, let it rage never so much, be it never so cruel and bloody, yet be ye sure, that no man can take us out of the Father’s hands, for he is greater than all; who “hath not spared his own Son, but hath given him to death for us all; and, therefore, how shall he not with him give us all things also?” “Who shall lay any thing to the charge of God’s elect? It is God that justifieth, who shall then condemn? It is Christ that is dead, yea, rather that is risen again, who is also at the right hand of God, and maketh request also for us. Who shall separate us from the love of Christ? Shall tribulation, or anguish, or persecution, or famine, or nakedness, or peril, or sword?” The rest ye know, brethren; we are certainly persuaded with St. Paul, by the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, that no kind of thing shall be able to separate us from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord.

Which thing, that it may come to pass by the grace and mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ, to the comfort both of you and of us all, as we, for our parts, will continually, God willing, pray for you: so (dear brethren in the Lord), with all earnest and hearty request, we beseech you, even in the bowels of our Lord Jesus Christ, that ye will not cease to pray for us. Fare ye well, dear brethren. The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you all evermore. Amen.

Yours in the Lord,

NICHOLAS RIDLEY.

AN ANSWER TO A LETTER WRITTEN UNTO HIM BY
WEST, SOMETIME HIS CHAPLAIN.

I wish you grace in God, and love of the truth, without the which, truly established in men's hearts by the mighty hand of Almighty God, it is no more possible to stand by the truth in Christ in time of trouble, than it is for the wax to abide the heat of the fire.

Sir, know you this, that I am (blessed be God!) persuaded, that this world is but transitory; and (as St. John saith) "the world passeth away, and the lust thereof." I am persuaded Christ's words be true: "Whosoever shall confess me before men, him will I confess also before my Father which is in heaven." And I believe that no earthly creature shall be saved, whom the Redeemer and Saviour of the world shall before his Father deny. This, the Lord grant, that it may be so grafted, established, and fixed in my heart, that neither things present, nor to come, high nor low, life nor death, be able to remove me thence.

It is a goodly wish, that you wish me deeply to consider things pertaining unto God's glory: but if you had wished also, that neither fear of death, nor hope of worldly prosperity, should let me to maintain God's word and his truth, which is his glory and true honour, it would have liked me well. You desire me for God's sake to remember myself; indeed, Sir, now it is time so to do; for, so far as I can perceive, it standeth me upon no less danger, than of the loss both of my body and soul; and, I trow, then it is time for a man to awake, if any thing will awake him. He that will not fear Him, that threateneth to cast both body and soul into ever-

lasting fire, whom will he fear? With this fear, O Lord! fasten thou together our frail flesh, that we never swerve from thy laws. You say, you have made much suit for me. Sir, God grant, that you have not, in suing for my worldly deliverance, impaired and hindered the furtherance of God's word and his truth.

You have known me long indeed, in the which time, it hath chanced me (as you say) to mislike some things. It is true, I grant: for sudden changes, without substantial and necessary cause, and the heavy setting forth of such extremities, I did never love. Confession unto the minister, who is able to instruct, correct, comfort, and inform the weak, wounded, and ignorant conscience, indeed, I ever thought might do much good in Christ's congregation, and so, I assure you, I think even at this day.

My doctrine, and my preaching, you say, you have heard often; and, after your judgment, have thought it godly, saving only for the sacrament; which thing, although it was of me reverently handled, and a great deal better than of the rest (as you say), yet in the margin you write warily, and in this world wisely: and yet methought all sounded not well. Sir, but that I see so many changes in this world, and so many alterations, else, at this your saying, I would not a little marvel. I have taken you for my friend, and a man, whom I fancied for plainness and faithfulness, as much (I assure you) as for your learning; and have you kept this so close in your heart from me unto this day? Sir, I consider more things than one, and will not say all that I think. But what need you to care what I think, for any thing that I shall be able to do unto you, either good or harm? You give me good lessons, to stand in nothing against my learning, and to beware of vain glory. Truly, Sir, I herein like your counsel

very well ; and, by God's grace, intend to follow it unto my life's end.

To write unto those whom you name, I cannot see what it will avail me. For this, I would have you know, that I esteem nothing available for me, which also will not further the glory of God. And now, because, I perceive, you have an entire zeal and desire of my deliverance out of this captivity, and worldly misery, if I should not bear you a good heart in God again, methink I were to blame. Sir, how nigh the day of my dissolution and departure out of this world is at hand, I cannot tell : the Lord's will be fulfilled, how soon soever it shall come. I know the Lord's words must be verified on me, that I shall appear before the incorrupt Judge, and be accountable to him of all my former life. And although the hope of his mercy is my sheet-anchor of eternal salvation, yet, I am persuaded, that whosoever wittingly neglecteth, and regardeth not to clear his conscience, he cannot have peace with God, nor a lively faith in his mercy.

Conscience, therefore, moveth me ; considering you, therefore, were one of my family, and one of my household, of whom then I think I had especial cure, and of all them which were within my house, which, indeed, ought to have been an example of godliness to all the rest of all my cure, not only of good life, but also in promoting of God's word to the uttermost of their power ; but, alas ! now when the trial doth separate the chaff from the corn, how small a deal it is, God knoweth, which the wind doth not blow away : this conscience, I say, doth move me to fear, lest the lightness of my family shall be laid to my charge, for lack of more earnest and diligent instruction, which should have been done. But, blessed be God ! which hath given me

grace to see this my default, and to lament it from the bottom of my heart, before my departing hence.

This conscience doth move me also now to require both you and my friend, Doctor Hervey, to remember your promises, made to me in times past, of the pure setting-forth and preaching of God's word and his truth. These promises, although you shall not need to fear to be charged with them of me hereafter before the world, yet look for none other (I exhort you, as my friends), but to be charged with them at God's hand. This conscience, and the love that I bear you, bid me now say unto both in God's name, "Fear God, and love not the world;" for God is able to cast both body and soul into hell fire. When his wrath shall suddenly be kindled, blessed are all they that put their trust in him. And the saying of St. John is true: "All that is in the world, as the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eyes, and the pride of life, is not of the Father, but of the world: and the world passeth away, and the lust thereof, but he that doeth the will of God, abideth for ever."

For if this gift of grace, which undoubtedly is necessarily required unto eternal salvation, were truly and unfeignedly grafted, and firmly established in men's hearts, they would not be so light, so suddenly to shrink from the maintenance and confession of the truth, as it is now (alas!) seen so manifestly of so many in these days. But here, peradventure, you would know of me what is the truth. Sir, God's word is the truth, as St. John saith, and that even the same that was heretofore. For, albeit man doth vary and change like the moon, yet God's word is stable, and abideth one for evermore; and of Christ it is truly said, "Christ yesterday and to-day, the same is also for ever."

When I was in office, all that were esteemed learned in God's word, agreed this to be a truth in

God's word written, that the common prayer of the church should be had in the common tongue. You know, I have conferred with many, and, I assure you, I never found man (so far as I do remember), either old or new, Gospeller or Papist, of what judgment soever he was, in this thing to be of a contrary opinion. If then it were a truth of God's word, think you that the alteration of the world can make it an untruth? If it cannot, why then do so many men shrink from the confession and maintenance of this truth, received once of us all? For what is it, I pray you, else to confess or to deny Christ in this world, but to maintain the truth taught in God's word, or for any worldly respect to shrink from the same? This one thing have I brought for an ensample; other things be in like case, which now particularly I need not to rehearse. For he that will forsake wittingly, either for fear or gain of this world, an one open truth of God's word; if he be constrained, he will assuredly forsake God and all his truth, rather than he will endanger himself to lose or to leave that, which he loveth better indeed than he doth God, and the truth of his word.

I like very well your plain speaking, wherein you say, "I must either agree or die;" and, I think, that you mean of the bodily death which is common both to the good and bad. Sir, I know I must die, whether I agree or no. But what folly were it then to make such an agreement, by the which I could never escape this death, which is common to all, and also incur the guilt of death and eternal damnation! Lord, grant that I may utterly abhor and detest this damnable agreement, so long as I live.

And because (I dare say) you wrote of friendship unto me this short, earnest advertisement, and I think, verily wishing me to live and not to die, there-

fore, bearing you in my heart no less love in God, than you do me in the world, I say unto you, in the word of the Lord (and that I say to you, I say to all my friends and lovers in God), that if you do not confess and maintain to your power and knowledge, that which is grounded upon God's word, but will either, for fear or gain of the world, shrink and play the apostate, indeed you shall die the death: you know what I mean. And I beseech you all, my true friends and lovers in God, remember what I say, for this may be the last time, peradventure, that ever I shall write unto you.

From Bocardo in Oxford, the 8th day of April,
1554.

NICHOLAS RIDLEY.

LETTER TO BISHOP HOOPER.

To my most dear brother and reverend fellow-elder in Christ, John Hooper, grace and peace.

My dearly beloved brother and fellow-elder, whom I reverence in the Lord, pardon me, I beseech you, that hitherto, since your captivity and mine, I have not saluted you by my letters: whereas, I do indeed confess, I have received from you (such was your gentleness) two letters at sundry times; but yet, at such times, as I could not be suffered to write to you again, or, if I might have written, yet was I greatly in doubt, lest my letters should not safely come unto your hands.

But now, my dear brother, forasmuch as I understand by your works, which I have yet but superficially seen, that we thoroughly agree, and wholly consent together, in those things which are the grounds and substantial points of our religion,

against the which the world so furiously rageth in these our days, howsoever, in time past, in smaller matters and circumstances of religion, your wisdom and my simplicity (I confess) have in some points varied *; now (I say), be you assured, that even with my whole heart (God is my witness), in the bowels of Christ, I love you, and in truth for the truth's sake, which abideth in us, and (as I am persuaded) shall, by the grace of God, abide with us for evermore.

And because the world, as I perceive, brother, ceaseth not to play his pageant, and busily conspireth against Christ, our Saviour, with all possible force and power exalting high things against the knowledge of God; let us join hands together in Christ, and if we cannot overthrow, yet to our power, and as much as in us lieth, let us shake those high things, not with carnal, but with spiritual weapons; and withal, brother, let us prepare ourselves to the day of our dissolution, whereby, after the short time of this bodily affliction, by the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, we shall triumph together with him in eternal glory.

I pray you, brother, salute in my name that reverend father, your fellow-prisoner, Doctor Crome, by whom, since the first day that I have heard of his most godly and fatherly constancy, in confessing the truth of the Gospel, I have conceived great consolation and joy in the Lord. For the integrity and uprightness, the gravity and innocency, of that

* This alludes to some differences of opinion which had subsisted between them, respecting the form and mode of consecration to the episcopal office; and which at one time arose to a considerable height. Hooper took the advice of Calvin respecting the matter, and was by him persuaded to a full conformity with the church of England in all matters of unessential import.—ED.

man, all England, I think, hath known long ago. Blessed be God therefore, which in such abundance of iniquity, and decay of all godliness, hath given unto us in this reverend old age, such a witness for the truth of his Gospel. Miserable and hard-hearted is he, whom the godliness and constant confession of so worthy, so grave, and innocent a man, will not move to acknowledge and confess the truth of God.

I do not now, brother, require you to write any thing to me again, for I stand much in fear lest your letters should be intercepted, before they can come to my hands. Nevertheless, know you, that it shall be to me great joy to hear of your constancy and fortitude in the Lord's quarrel. And, albeit I have not hitherto written unto you, yet have I twice, as I could, sent unto you my mind touching the matter, which in your letters you required to know, neither yet, brother, can I be otherwise persuaded. I see, methinks, so many perils, whereby I am earnestly moved to counsel you not to hasten the publishing of your works, especially under the title of your own name. For I fear greatly, lest by this occasion, both your mouth should be stopped hereafter, and all things taken away from the rest of the prisoners, whereby otherwise, if it so pleased God, they may be able to do good to many. Farewell in the Lord, my most dear brother, and if there be any more in prison with you, for Christ's cause, I beseech you, as you may, salute them in my name: to whose prayers I do most humbly and heartily commend myself and my fellow-prisoners, concaptives in the Lord. And yet once again, and for ever in Christ, my most dear brother, farewell.

NICHOLAS RIDLEY.

LETTERS TO THE REV. JOHN BRADFORD.

To Master Bradford, Prisoner in the King's Bench.

Well beloved in Christ our Saviour, we all with one heart wish you, with all those that love God in deed and truth, grace and health; and specially to our dearly beloved companions which are in Christ's cause, and the cause both of their brethren, and of their own salvation, ready and willing to put their neck under the yoke of Christ's cross. How joyful it was for us to hear the report of Dr. Taylor, and of his godly confession, &c. I ensure you, it is hard for me to express. Blessed be God, which was and is the giver of that and all godly strength and stomach in the time of adversity.

As for the rumours that have, or do go abroad, either of our relenting or massing, we trust, that they which know God and their duty towards their brethren in Christ, will not be too light of credit to believe them. It is not the slanderer's evil tongue, but a man's own evil deed, that can with God defile a man; and, therefore, by God's grace, ye shall never have cause to do otherwise than you say you do; that is, not to doubt but that we will continue, &c. Like rumour as you have heard of our coming to London, hath been here spread of the coming of certain learned men, prisoners, hither from London; but as yet we know no certainty whether of those rumours is, or shall be more true.

Know you, that we have you in our daily remembrance, and wish you and all the rest of our fore-said companions, well in Christ. It should do us much comfort if we might have knowledge of the state of the rest of our most dearly beloved, which in this troublesome time do stand in Christ's cause, and in the defence of the truth thereof. We are in

good health, thanks be to God ; and yet the manner of our entreating doth change, as sour ale doth in summer. It is reported to us of our keepers, that the university beareth us heavily. A coal chanced to fall in the night out of the chimney, and burnt a hole in the floor, and no more harm was done, the bailiffs' servants sitting by the fire. Another night, there chanced a drunken fellow to multiply words, and for the same he was sent in Bocardo.

Upon these things, as is reported, there is risen a rumour in the town and country about, that we would have broken the prison with such violence, as, if the bailiffs had not played the prettymen, we should have made an escape. We had out of our prison a wall that we might have walked upon, and our servants had liberty to go abroad in the town or fields ; but now both they and we are restrained of both.

The Bishop of Worcester passed by us through Oxford, but he did not visit us. The same day began our restraint to be more, and the book of the communion was taken from us by the bailiffs at the Mayor's commandment. No man is licensed to come unto us ; afore they might, that would, see us upon the wall, but that is so grudged at, and so evil reported, that we are now restrained, &c.

Sir, blessed be God, with all our evil reports, grudgings, and restraints, we are merry in God ; and all our care is, and shall be, by God's grace, to please and serve him, of whom we look and hope, after these temporal and momentary miseries, to have eternal joy and perpetual felicity, with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, Peter and Paul, and all the blessed company of the angels in heaven, through Jesus Christ our Lord.

As yet, there was never learned man, or any scholar, or other, that visited us, since we came unto Bocardo, which now in Oxford may be called, a Col-

lege of *quondams* ; for, as you know, we be no fewer here than three, and I dare say, every one well contented with his portion, which I do reckon to be our heavenly Father's gracious and fatherly good gift.

Thus fare you well. We shall with God's grace one day meet together and be merry : the day assuredly approacheth apace ; the Lord grant, that it may shortly come, for before that day come, I fear me, the world will wax worse and worse : but then all our enemies shall be overthrown and trodden under foot ; righteousness and truth then shall have the victory and bear the bell away ; whereof the Lord grant us to be partners, and all that sincerely love the truth.

We all pray you, as you can, to cause all our commendations to be made to all such as you know did visit us and you, when we were in the Tower, with their friendly remembrances and benefits. Mrs. Wilkinson and Mrs. Warcup have not forgotten us, but even since we came into Bocardo with their charitable and friendly benevolence have comforted us : not that else we lack (for God be blessed which ever hitherto hath provided sufficiently for us) : but it is a great comfort and an occasion for us to bless God, when we see, that he maketh them so friendly to tender us, whom some of us were never familiarly acquainted withal.

Yours in Christ,
N. RIDLEY.

To Master Bradford.

Dearly beloved, I wish you grace, mercy, and peace. According to your mind I have run over all your papers, and what I have done (which is but small) therein may appear. Sir, what shall be best

done with these things, now you must consider : for if they come in sight at this time, undoubtedly they must to the fire with their father ; and as for any safeguard that your custody can be unto them, I am sure you look not for it : for as you have been partner of the work, so I am sure, you look for none other, but to have and receive like wages, and to drink of the same cup.

Blessed be God, that hath given you liberty in the mean season, that you may use your pen to his glory, and to the comfort (as I hear say) of many. I bless God daily in you and all your whole company, to whom I beseech you to commend me heartily. Now I love my countryman in deed and in truth, I mean Dr. Taylor, not now for my earthly country's sake, but for our heavenly Father's sake, whom I heard say, he did so strongly in time of peril confess : and yet also now for our country's sake and for all our mother's sake ; but I mean of the kingdom of heaven, and of heavenly Jerusalem, and because of the Spirit which bringeth in him, in you, and in your company, such blessed fruits of boldness in the Lord's cause, of patience, and constancy. The Lord, which hath begun this work in you all, perform and perfect this his own deed, until his own day come. Amen.

As yet I perceive, you have not been baited, and the cause thereof God knoweth, which will let them do no more to his, than is his pleased will and good pleasure to suffer them to do for his own glory, and to the profit of them, which be truly his ; for the Father, which doth guide them, that be Christ's to Christ, is more mighty than all they, and no man is able to pull them out of the Father's hands : except (I say) it please our Father, it please our Master Christ to suffer them, they shall not be able to stir one hair of your heads.

My brother B., the bearer hereof, would, that we should say what we think good concerning your mind: that is, not for to answer, except ye might have somewhat indifferent judges. We are (as ye know) separated, and one of us cannot in any thing consult with another, and much strait watching of the bailiffs is about us, that there be no privy conference amongst us. And yet (as we hear) the scholars bear us more heavily than the townsmen. A wonderful thing, among so many, never yet scholar offered to any of us (so far as I know) any manner of favour, either for or in Christ's cause.

Now as concerning your demand of our counsel, for my part, I do not mislike that, which I perceive ye are minded to do: for I look for none other, but if ye answer before the same commissioners that we did, ye shall be served and handled as we were, though ye were as well learned as ever was either Peter or Paul. And yet further I think that occasion afterward may be given you, and the consideration of the profit of your auditory may perchance move you to do otherwise. Finally, determinately to say what shall be best, I am not able: but I trust He, whose cause ye have in hand, shall put you in mind to do that, which shall be most for his glory, the profit of his flock, and your own salvation.

This letter must be common to you and M. Hooper, in whom and in his prison-fellow good father Crome, I bless God, even from the bottom of my heart: for I doubt not, but they both do to our Master, Christ, true, acceptable and honourable service and profitable to his flock, the one with his pen, and the other with his fatherly example of patience and constancy and all manner of true godliness.

But what shall I need to say to you, let this be common among your brethren? Among whom (I dare say)

it is with you as it is with us, to whom all things here are common: meat, money, and whatsoever one of us hath that can or may do any other good. Although I said the bailiffs and our hosts strictly watch us, that we have no conference or intelligence of any thing abroad, yet hath God provided for every one of us in the stead of our servants, faithful fellows, which will be content to hear and see, and to do for us, whatsoever they can: it is God's work surely, blessed be God for his unspeakable goodness. The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ and the love of God, and the communion of the Holy, Ghost be with you all. Amen, Amen.

As far as London is from Oxford, yet thence we have received of late both meat, money, and shirts, not only from such as are of our acquaintance, but of some whom this bearer can tell, with whom I had never to my knowledge any acquaintance. I know, for whose sake they do it: to Him therefore be all honour, glory, and due thanks; and yet, I pray you, do so much, as to shew them, that we have received their benevolence, and (God be blessed) have plenty of all such things. This I desire you to do, for I know they be of Master Hooper and your familiar acquaintance. Master Latimer was crazed, but I hear now, thanks be to God, that he amendeth again.

Yours in Christ,

N. RIDLEY.

To Master Bradford.

Brother Bradford, I wish you and your company in Christ, yea, and all the holy brotherhood, that now with you in divers prisons suffereth and beareth patiently Christ's cross for the maintenance of his gos-

pel, grace, mercy, and peace from God the Father, and from our Lord Jesus Christ.

Sir, considering the state of this chivalry and warfare, wherein, I doubt not, but we be set to fight under Christ's banner and his cross against our ghostly enemy, the devil and the old serpent, Satan, methink I perceive two things to be his most perilous and most dangerous engines, which he hath to impugn Christ's verity, his gospel, his faith: and the same two also to be the most massy posts and most mighty pillars, whereby he maintaineth and upholdeth his satanical synagogue.

These two, Sir, are they in my judgment: the one is false doctrine and idolatrical use of the Lord's supper; and the other, the wicked and abominable usurpation of the primacy of the See of Rome. By these two Satan seemeth to me principally to maintain and uphold his kingdom: by these two, he driveth down mightily (alas!) I fear me, the third part of the stars in heaven. These two poisonful rotten posts he hath so painted over with such a pretence and colour of religion, of unity in Christ's church, of the catholic faith and such-like, that the wily serpent is able to deceive (if it were possible) even the elect of God.

Wherefore, John said not without great cause, If any know not Satan's subtleties and the dangers thereof, I will wish him no other burden to be laden withal. Sir, because these be his principal and main posts, whereupon standeth all his falsehood, craft, and treachery, therefore, according to the poor power that God hath given me, I have bended mine artillery to shoot at the same. I know it to be but little (God knoweth) that I can do, and of my shot I know they pass not. Yet will I not (God willing) cease to do the best that I can, to shake those cankered and rotten posts. The Lord grant me good

success, to the glory of his name and the furtherance of Christ's Gospel. I have now already (I thank God) for this present time spent a good part of my powder in this scribbling, whereof this bearer shall give you knowledge. Good brother Bradford, let the wicked surmise and say what they list, know you for a certainty by God's grace, without all doubt, that in Christ's Gospel's cause, against and upon the foresaid God's enemies, I am fully determined to live and die. Farewell, dear brother, and I beseech you with all the rest of our brethren, to have good remembrance of the condemned heretics (as they call them) of Oxford in your prayers. The bearer shall certify you of our state. Farewell in the Lord.

From Bocardo.

Yours in Christ,
N. RIDLEY.

To Master Bradford.

Dearly beloved brother, blessed be God, our heavenly Father, for his manifold and innumerable mercies towards us, and blessed might he be, that hath spared us thus long together, that each one of us may bless his mercy and clemency in other unto this day, above the expectation and hope of any worldly appearance.

Whereas you write of the outrageous rule, that Satan, our ghostly enemy, beareth abroad in the world, whereby he stirreth and raiseth pestilent and heinous heresies; as some, to deny the blessed Trinity; some, the divinity of our Saviour Christ; some, the divinity of the Holy Ghost; some, the baptism of infants; some, original sin, and to be infected with the errors of the Pelagians, and to rebaptize those, that have been baptized with Christ's baptism

already : alas ! Sir, this doth declare this time and these days to be wicked indeed. But what can we look for else of Satan here and of his ministers, but to do the worst that they can, so far forth as God shall or will suffer them ? And now methinks he is less to be marvelled at at this time, if he bestir him by all manner of means, that the truth indeed do take no place. For he seeth now (blessed be God) that some go about in deed and in truth, not trifling, but with the loss of all that they are able to lose in this world, goods, lands, name, fame, and life also, to set forth God's word and his truth ; and by God's grace shall do, and abide in the same unto the end ; now, therefore, it is time to bestir him, I trow.

And as for diversities of errors, what careth he, though one be never so contrary to another ? He reckoneth all (and so he may) to be his, whosoever prevail, so that truth prevail not. Nevertheless, good brother, I suppose that the universal plague is most dangerous, which at this day is (alas !) fostered and masterfully holden up by wit, worldly policy, multitude of people, power, and all worldly means.

As for other, the devil's galtrops, that he casteth in our ways by some of his busy-headed youngers, I trust they shall never be able to do the multitude so great harm. For blessed be God, these heresies beforetime, when Satan by his servants hath been about to breach them, have by God's servants already been so sharply and truly confounded, that the multitude was never infected with them, or else, where they have been infected, they are healed again, that now the peril is not so great.

And where you say, that if your request had been heard, things (you think) had been in better case than they be : know you, that concerning the matter*

* He meaneth here the matter of election, whereof he afterward wrote a godly and comfortable treatise.—COVERDALE.

you mean, I have in Latin drawn out the places of the Scriptures, and upon the same have noted what I can for the time. Sir, in those matters I am so fearful, that I dare not speak further, yea, almost none otherwise than the very text doth (as it were) lead me by the hand. And where you exhort us to help, &c. O Lord, what is else in this world that we now should list to do? I bless my Lord God, I never (as me thinketh) had more nor better leisure to be occupied with my pen in such things as I can do to set forth (when they may come to light) God's glory. And I bless my Lord God through Jesus Christ, my heart and my work are therein occupied, not so fully and perfectly as I would, but yet so as I bless God for the same.

Farewell, dear brother; the messenger tarrieth, and I may not now be longer with you. The Lord, I trust, verily shall bring us thither, where we shall each one with other in Christ our Saviour, rejoice and be merry everlastingly.

Your brother in Christ,
N. RIDLEY.

To Master Bradford.

Dearly beloved brother Bradford, I had thought of late, that I had written unto you your last farewell, until we should have met in the kingdom of heaven, by our dear brother Austin, and I sent it to meet you in Lancashire, whither it was said here you were appointed to be sent to suffer. But now, since they have changed their purpose, and prolonged your death, I understand, it is no other thing, than that once happened to Peter and Paul. The which, although they were of the first, which were cast in prison, and as little shunned peril, as any other did, yet God would not have them put to death with

the first, because he had more service to be done by their ministry, which his gracious pleasure was they should do : so without doubt, dear brother, I am persuaded that the same is the cause of the delay of your martyrdom.

Blessed be the Holy Trinity, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, for your threefold confession. I have read all three with great comfort and joy, and thanksgiving unto God for his manifold gifts of grace, wherewith, it is manifest to the godly reader, that God did assist you mightily. And, blessed be God again and again, which gave you so good a mind and remembrance of your oath once made against the bishop of Rome, lest you should be partaker of the common perjury, which all men almost are now fallen into, in bringing in again that wicked usurped power of his. Which oath was made according to the Prophet, in judgment, in righteousness, and in truth, and therefore cannot without perjury be revoked, let Satan roar and rage, and practise all the cruelty he can.

Oh ! good Lord, that they are so busy with you about the church. It is no new thing, brother, that is happened unto you, for that was always the clamour of the wicked bishops and priests against God's true Prophets : " The temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord : " and " they said, The law shall not depart from the priests, nor wisdom from the elders ; " and yet in them, whom they only esteemed for their priests and sages, there was neither God's law nor godly wisdom.

It is a marvellous thing to hear what vain communication is spread abroad of you. It is said here, that you be pardoned your life ; and when you were appointed to be banished and to go, I cannot tell whither, you should say, that you had rather here suffer, than go where you could not live after your con-

science ; and that this pardon should be begged for you by Borne, the Bishop of Bath, for that you saved his life.

Again, some say, and amongst others, mine hostess reported, that you are highly promoted, and are a great man with my Lord Chancellor. This I could not believe, but did deny it as a false lie : so surely was I always persuaded of your constancy. What God will do with us he knoweth. In the mean time, wonderful it is to behold how the wisdom of God hath infatuated the policy of the world, and scattered the crafty devices of the worldly wise. For when the state of religion was once altered, and persecution began to wax hot, no man doubted but Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley, should have been the first to have been called to the stake. But the subtle policy of the world setting us apart, first assaulted them, by whose infirmity they thought to have more advantage, but God disappointed their subtle purpose. For whom the world esteemed weakest (praised be God) they have found most strong, sound, and valiant in Christ's cause unto the death, to give such an onset as, I dare say, all the angels in heaven do no less rejoice to behold in them, than they did in the victorious constancy of Peter, Paul, Esaias, Elias, or Jeremy. For greater love no man hath than to bestow his life, &c.

Good brother, have me and us all continually in your remembrance to God in your prayers, as, God willing, we shall not be in our prayers forgetful of you.

Your own in Christ,
N. RIDLEY.

To Master Bradford.

Brother Bradford, I wish you in Christ our Saviour, grace, mercy, and peace, and to all them which are with you or any where else captives in Christ; and to hear, that ye be all in good health, and stand constantly in the confession of Christ's Gospel, it doth heartily rejoyce us. Know you likewise, that we all here be (thanks be to God) in good health and comfort, watching with our lamps lighted (I trust in God), when it shall please our Master, the bridegroom, to call us to wait upon him unto the marriage.

Now, we suppose, the day doth approach apace, for we hear that the parliament is dissolved. The burgesses of Oxford are come home, and other news hear we not, but that the King is made protector to the prince to be born, and that the bishops have full authority, *ex officio*, to inquire of heretics. Before the parliament began, it was a rumour here, that certain from the convocation-house were appointed, yea, ready to have come to Oxford, and then there was spied out one thing to lack for want of a law, to perform their intent. Now seeing they can want no law, we cannot but look for them shortly, I trust to God's glory, let them come when they will, &c.

Brother Bradford, I marvel greatly of good Austin, where he is, for that I heard say he promised his master to have been here before this time, and he had from me that I would be loth to lose, yea, to want when time shall be that it might do, nay help me to do my Lord and my Master Christ service. I mean my scribblings, *De Abominationibus Sedis Romanæ & Pontificum Romanorum*. I have no copy of the same, and I look daily to be called *in certamen cum antiquo serpente*; and so I told him, and, I

ween, you also, by whose means I was more moved to let him have them. I doubt not of his fidelity. I pray God he be in health and at liberty, for I have been and am careful for him.

I have heard that Master Grimbold hath gotten his liberty: if without any blemish of Christ's glory, I I am right glad thereof. My brother-in-law is where he was, that is, in Bocardo, the common gaol of the town. I have written here a letter to Master Hooper, I pray you cause it to be written to him again. Commend me to all your fellow-prisoners and our brethren in Christ. If Austin were here, I would have had more to say. The Lord grant that all be with him well, whoever preserves you and all that love our Saviour Christ in sincerity and truth. Amen.

Yours by God's grace in our Master Christ's cause unto the stake, and thenceforth without all danger and peril for ever. I am sure you have heard of our new apparel, and I doubt not but London will have their talk of it. Sir, know you, that although this seemeth to us in our case much thanks worthy, yet have we not that apparel that we look for, for this in time will wear, and that which we look for, rightly done on, will endure, and is called *stola immortalitatis*.

N. RIDLEY.

To Master Bradford.

O! dear brother, seeing the time is now come wherein it pleaseth the heavenly Father for Christ our Saviour's sake, to call upon you, and bid you to come: happy are you, that ever you were born, thus to be awake at the Lord's calling: "Well done,

thou good and faithful servant : because thou hast been faithful over a few things, he shall set thee over many ; enter thou into the joy of thy Lord."

O ! dear brother, what meaneth this, that you are sent into your own native country ? The wisdom and policy of the world may mean what they will, but I trust God will so order the matter finally by his fatherly providence, that some great occasion of God's gracious goodness shall be plenteously poured abroad amongst his, our dear brethren in that country, by this your martyrdom.

Where the martyrs for Christ's sake shed their blood and lost their lives, O what wondrous things hath Christ afterward wrought to his glory, and confirmation of their doctrine ! If it be not the place that sanctifieth the man, but the holy man doth by Christ sanctify the place ; brother Bradford, then happy and holy shall be that place, wherein thou shalt suffer, and shall be with thy ashes in Christ's cause sprinkled over withal. All thy country may rejoice of thee, that ever it brought forth such a one, which would render his life again in his cause, of whom he had received it.

Brother Bradford, so long as I shall understand, that thou art in thy journey, by God's grace, I shall call upon our heavenly Father for Christ's sake, to set thee safely home : and then, good brother, speak you, and pray for the remnant, that are for to suffer for Christ's sake, according to that thou then shalt know more clearly.

We do look now every day, when we shall be called on, blessed be God. I ween, I am the weakest many ways of our company, and yet, I thank our Lord God and heavenly Father by Christ, that since I heard of our dear brother Rogers' departing, and stout confession of Christ, and his truth even unto the death ; my heart (blessed be God) so rejoiced at

it, that, since that time, I say I never felt any lumpish heaviness in my heart, as I grant I have felt sometimes before. O good brother, blessed be God in thee, and blessed be the time that ever I knew thee. Farewell, farewell.

Your brother in Christ, N. RIDLEY.
Brother, farewell.

To Master Bradford.

Grace, peace, and mercy, &c. Although I ween it is not yet three days ago since you heard from me, yet having such a messenger and so diversly enforced, I cannot but say something to you. What? shall I thank you for your golden token*? What mean you, man? Do you not know that we have food and clothing from the royal stores? I was so moved with your token, that I commanded it straightway to be had to Bocardo, which is our common gaol. I am right glad of Austin's return, for I was (as I told you) careful for him. Blessed be God that all is well.

I have seen what he brought from you, and shortly surveyed the whole, but in such celerity, that others also might see the same before Austin's return: so that I noted nothing but a confused sum of the matter, and as yet what the rest have done, I can tell nothing at all, but it was, at the writing hereof, in their hands. To your request and Austin's earnest demand of the same, I have answered him in a brief letter, and yet he hath replied again: but he must go without any further answer of me for this time. I have told Austin that I for my part, as I can and may for my tardity and dulness, will think of the

* It was a piece of gold sent by Bradford to relieve Ridley's relative in Bocardo, Shippside.

matter. We are so now ordered and straitly watched, that scarcely our servants dare do any thing for us : so much talk and so many tales (as is said) are told of us abroad. One of us cannot easily nor shortly be of knowledge of any other's mind, and you know I am youngest many ways. Austin's persuasions may do more with me, in that I may do conveniently in this matter, armed with your earnest and zealous letters, than any rhetoric either of Tully or Demosthenes, I ensure you thereof.

With us it is said, that M. Grimbold was adjudged to be hanged, drawn, and quartered, of whom we hear now, that he is at liberty. So we heard of late, that Master Hooper was hanged, drawn, and quartered indeed, not for heresy, but for treason ; but, blessed be God, we hear now that all is true in like. False tongues will not cease to lie, and mischievous hearts to imagine the worst.

Farewell in Christ, and token for token now I send you not, but know this, that (as it is told me) I have two scarlet gowns that scaped, I cannot tell how, in the spoil, whereof you shall have your part. Commend me to all our brethren, and your fellow-prisoners in the Lord.

Yours in Christ,
N. RIDLEY.

TO AUGUSTIN BERNHER.

Brother Augustin, I bless God with all my heart, in his manifold merciful gifts given unto our dear brethren in Christ, especially to our dear brother Rogers, whom it pleased to set forth first, no doubt but of his gracious goodness and fatherly favour towards him. And likewise blessed be God in the rest, as Hooper, Sanders, and Taylor, whom it hath

pleased the Lord likewise to set in the fore front of the battle, against his adversaries, and hath endued them all (so far as I can hear) to stand in the confession of his truth, and to be content in his cause and for his gospel's sake to lose their lives.

And evermore and without end blessed be even the same our heavenly Father for our dear and entirely beloved brother Bradford, whom now the Lord (I perceive) calleth for : for I ween he will no longer vouchsafe him to abide among the adulterous and wicked generation of this world. I do not doubt, but that he (for those gifts of grace which the Lord hath bestowed on him plenteously) hath holden those which are gone before in their journey, that is, hath animated and encouraged them to keep the high way, and so to run, that they may obtain the prize. The Lord be his comfort, whereof I do not doubt ; and I thank God heartily that ever I was acquainted with him, and that ever I had such a one in my house. And yet again I bless God in our dear brother and of this time *protomartyr* Rogers *, that he was also one of my calling to be a prebendary preacher of London.

And now because Grindal is gone (the Lord I doubt not hath and knoweth wherein he will bestow him), I trust to God it shall please him of his goodness to strengthen me to make up the trinity out of Paul's church, to suffer for Christ, whom God the Father hath anointed, the holy Spirit doth bear witness unto, Paul and all the Apostles preached. Thus fare you well. I have no paper ; I was constrained thus to write.

N. RIDLEY.

* So called because he was the first that suffered death for religion under that persecution.

To Mistress Glover, a Woman zealous and hearty in the Cause and Furtherance of God's Gospel.

Mrs. Glover, I wish you grace and peace ; and although I am not acquainted with you, yet, nevertheless, hearing that your husband, Master Glover, is in prison for God's word's sake, and also that you are a woman hearty in God's cause ; and thirdly, that old father Latimer is your uncle or near cousin, whom I do think the Lord hath placed to be his standard-bearer in our age and country against his mortal foe, antichrist : I was thus bold to write to you in God's behalf, to do according to the report which I heard of you ; that is, that you be hearty in God's cause, and hearty to your master Christ, in furthering of his cause, and setting forth his soldiers to his wars to the utmost of your power.

Let no carnality nor worldly regard of any thing let you to declare your true heart, which you are said to bear to your master Christ, above all other things. Be hearty now also to your husband, and declare yourself to love him in God, as the true faithful Christian woman unto her husband is bound to do. Now seeing your husband, which is set by God's ordinance to be your head, is ready to suffer and abide in adversity by his Master's cause, and to cleave to his head Christ ; see likewise that you do your duty accordingly, and cleave unto him your head : suffer with him, that you may further his cause. His cause now I understand to be Christ's cause, and therefore beware, good sister in Christ, that in no wise ye hinder it.

Love so his body, and the ease and wealth thereof, as your love may further him to the winning both of body and soul unto everlasting life. And this love shall God allow you ; your husband shall have just cause to rejoice thereof, and all the godly to

commend you therefore, and to number you for the same among the godly and holy women of God. To your husband I have written more : and thus fare you well now, good dear sister in our Saviour Christ.

I was the bolder to write unto you, for that I understood my dearly beloved brother Austin, whom I call Faustus, should be the carrier, a man whom I think God hath appointed to do much pleasure for his prest servants to his wars.

Yours in Christ,

N. RIDLEY.

To a Friend that came to visit him in Prison, but could not speak with him.

Well-beloved, I thank you heartily for your manifold kindness, but the Lord shall (I trust) acquit you your meed. Though Satan rage, the Lord is strong enough to bridle him, and to put an iron chain over his nose, when it shall please him.

In the mean time, they that are the Lord's, will flee unto him ; and assuredly he will not forsake them that seek unto him, in very deed and in truth. This bearer, my man, is trusty ; you may send your token by him. Let Nicholas keep still the shirts. The Lord reward that Lady Wyat, which for his sake hath thus remembered me : I do not know her person. What can I render to Mistress Wilkinson, for all her benefits ? Nothing, surely, but to desire our Lord to acquit her with his heavenly grace. If you tarry, I shall have more to say to you peradventure hereafter. Now, dearest friend, farewell in the Lord.

N. RIDLEY.

*The Answer of Dr. Ridley to a Letter * from Dr. Grindal, when an Exile at Frankfort.*

Blessed be God, our heavenly Father, which inclined your heart to have such a desire to write unto

** Grindal's letter was as follows :*

A Letter of M. Edward Grindal, then being in exile for the testimony of the truth, and now Bishop of London, to Dr. Ridley, prisoner in Oxford, which we thought good here to place, for that the letter following is an answer thereof. (See *Bishop Coverdale, as above, p. 49.*)

Grace and consolation from God our Saviour, Jesus Christ.

Sir, I have often been desirous to have written to you, and to have heard from you, but the iniquity of the times has hitherto always put me forth of all hope and comfort. Now at this present, God seemeth to offer some likelihood, that these might come to your hands, which I thought to use, referring the rest to God's disposition. Your present state, not I only (who of all other am most bound) but also all others, our brethren here, do most heartily lament, as joined with the most miserable captivity that ever any church of Christ hath suffered.

Notwithstanding, we give God most humble thanks, for that he hath so strengthened you and others your concaptives to profess a good profession before so many witnesses. And I doubt nothing, but He that hath called you and them not only to believe upon him, but also to suffer for him, doth not leave you destitute of that unspeakable comfort which he useth to minister abundantly to his in the school of the cross. He grant that his name may be glorified in you, whether it be by life or death, as may be most to his honour, and your everlasting consolation.

Sir, I thought it good to advertise you partly of our state in these parts. We be here dispersed in divers and several places. Certain be at Tigury, good students of either university a number, very well entreated of Master Bullinger, and of the other ministers of the whole city. Another number of us remain at Argentine, and take the commodity of Master Martyr's lessons, who is a very notable father. Master Scory and certain others are with him in Friesland, and have an English church there, but not very frequent. The greatest number is at Frankfort, where I was at this present by occasion, a very fair city, the magistrates favourable to our people, with so many other commodities, as exiles can well look for.

Here is also a church, and now (God be thanked) well quieted by the prudence of Master Cox and others, which met here for that

me, and blessed be he again, which hath heard your request, and hath brought your letters safe unto my hands : and over all this I bless him, through our Lord Jesus Christ, for the great comfort I have received by the same, of the knowledge of your state and of

purpose. So that now, we trust, God hath provided for such, as will fly forth of Babylon, a resting-place, where they may truly serve him, and hear the voice of their true pastor. I suppose, in one place and other dispersed, there be well nigh an hundred students and ministers on this side the seas. Such a Lord is God to work diversely in his, according to his unsearchable wisdom, who knoweth best what is in man.

The most victorious triumph is, that being in bonds for the Gospel, we boldly confess our Lord. The next honour, that, withdrawing ourselves by a prudent retreat, we reserve ourselves for our Master's service. That is a public, this a private confession. The first overcomes the temporal judge ; the other, content that God should judge his heart, preserves a conscience unviolated. The former shew^s a readier courage and intrepidity ; the latter purchases his present security at the expense of great anxiety. The first, when called upon, is found already mature for glory ; the latter perhaps stays for ripening. Though he who, leaving all, retires because he would not deny Christ, would also have confessed him, had his retreat been prevented. (*Cyprian.*)

We have also here certain copies of your answers in the disputation : also your objections and answers to Antonius, and the Treatise in English against Transubstantiation, which in time shall be translated into Latin. It hath been thought best not to print them till we see what God will do with you, both for inhancing their malicious fury, and also for restraining you and others from writing hereafter, which should be a greater loss to the church of Christ, than for bearing of these for a time. If I shall know your will to be otherwise in it, the same shall be followed.

Thus much I thought good to let you understand concerning these matters and concerning the poor state of men here ; who most earnestly and incessantly do cry unto God for the delivery of his church, to behold the causes of the afflicted, and to hear the groans of his imprisoned, knowing that you, who in this state have more familiar access unto God, do not forget us. God comfort you, aid you, and assist you with his Spirit and grace, to continue his unto the end, to the glory of his name, the edification of his church, and the subversion of antichrist's kingdom. Amen.

E. GRINDAL.

other our dearly beloved brethren and countrymen in those parts beyond the sea.

Dearly beloved brother Grindal, I say to you and all the rest of our brethren in Christ with you, rejoice in the Lord, and as ye love me and the others, my reverend fathers and concaptives (which undoubtedly are *gloria Christi*), lament not our state, but I beseech you and them all to give unto our heavenly Father, for his endless mercies and unspeakable benefits, even in the midst of all our troubles given unto us, most hearty thanks. For know ye, that as the weight of his cross hath increased upon us, so he hath not, nor doth not cease to multiply his mercies to strengthen us, and I trust, yea, by his grace I doubt nothing, but he will so do for Christ our master's sake even to the end.

To hear that you and our other brethren do find in your exile favour and grace with the magistrates, ministers, and citizens at Tignry, at Frankfort, and other where, it doth greatly comfort (I dare say) all here, that do indeed love Christ and his true word. I assure you it warmed my heart to hear you by chance to name some, as Scory and Cox, &c. O that it had come in your mind to have said somewhat also of Cheke, of Turner, of Leaver, of Sampson, of Chambers; but I trust to God they be all well.

And, Sir, seeing you say that there be in those parts with you of students and ministers so good a number, now therefore care you not for us, otherwise than to wish that God's glory may be set forth by us. For whensoever God shall call us home (as we look daily for none other, but when it shall please God to say, Come), ye, blessed be God, are enough, through his aid, to light and set up again the lantern of his word in England.

As concerning the copies ye say ye have with you,

I wonder however they did not wander and could find the way to come to you. My disputation, except you have that which I gathered myself after the disputation done, I cannot think ye have it truly. If ye have that, then ye have therewithal the whole manner after the which I was used in the disputation.

As for the Treatise in English against Transubstantiation, I can hardly be brought to think, that it would be worth while to translate it into Latin. But whatever it be, I would by no means that any thing should be published in my name in either language, till ye shall first be certain what God shall please to determine concerning us: and thus much unto your letters now.

Although I suppose ye know a good part of our state here (for we are forthcoming, even as when ye departed, &c.), you shall understand, that I was in the Tower about the space of two months close prisoner, and after they had granted to me, without my labour, the liberty of the Tower, and so continued about half a year; and then, because I refused to allow the mass with my presence, I was shut up in close prison again.

The last Lent save one, it chanced by reason of the tumult stirred up in Kent, there were so many prisoners in the Tower, that my Lord of Canterbury, M. Latimer, M. Bradford, and I were put all together in one prison, where we remained till almost the next Easter, and then we three, Canterbury, Latimer, and I, were suddenly sent a little before Easter to Oxford, and were suffered to have nothing with us, but that we carried upon us.

About the Whitsuntide following was our disputation at Oxford, after the which was all taken from us, as pen, ink, &c. Our own servants were taken from us before, and every one had put to him a

strange man, and we, each one, appointed to be kept in several places, as we are unto this day.

Blessed be God, we three, at the writing hereof, were in good health, and (in God) of good cheer. We have looked long ago to have been dispatched, for we were all three on one day within a day or two of our disputations, of Dr. Weston (being the head commissioner) condemned for heretics, and since that time we remain, as we were of him left. The Lord's will be fulfilled in us, as I do not doubt, by his grace it shall be to his glory and our endless salvation through Jesus Christ our Lord.

Likewise the Lord hitherto hath preserved, above all our expectation, our dear brother, and in Christ's cause a strong champion, John Bradford. He is likewise condemned, and is already delivered unto the secular power, and writs (as we have heard say) given out for his execution, and called in again. Thus the Lord, so long as his blessed pleasure is, preserveth whom he listeth, notwithstanding the wonderful raging of the world. Many (as we hear say) have suffered valiantly, confessing Christ's truth, and nothing yielding to the adversary, yea, not for the fear or pains of death.

The names of them which I knew, and have now suffered, are these: Farrar, the Bp. of St. David's, Hooper, the Bp. of Worcester, Rogers (once your fellow prebendary), Dr. Taylor, of Hadley, Mr. Sanders, and one Tomkins, a weaver; and now this last day Mr. Cardmaker with another were burnt in Smithfield at London, and many others in Essex and Kent, whose names are written in the book of life, whom yet I do not know.

West, your old companion, and sometime mine officer, (alas!) hath relented (as I have heard), but the Lord hath shortened his days, for anon he died

and is gone. Grimbold was caught by the heel, and cast into the Marshalsea, but now is at liberty again; but, I fear me, he escaped not without some becking and bowing (alas !) of his knee unto Baal.

My dear friend Thomas Ridley, of the Bull-head in Cheap, which was to me the most faithful friend that I had in my trouble, is departed also unto God. My brother Shipside, that hath married my sister, hath been almost half a year in prison for delivering (as he was accused) of certain things, I ween, from me : but now, thanks be to God, he is at liberty again, but so that the Bishop hath taken from him his park. Of all us three concaptives at Oxford, I am kept most strait, and with least liberty, either because in the house where I am kept the wife rules the husband (although he is Mayor of the city), a morose and most superstitious old woman, and who thinks it for her credit to be said of her that she guards me with the utmost caution and restraint ; but the man himself, Mr. Irish, is obliging enough to every body, though to his wife something too obsequious. Though I never was married (as you know), yet from the conversation I have had with this married couple, I seem able pretty well to guess what a great misfortune and insufferable yoke it is to be linked with a bad woman in matrimony. Rightly therefore did the wise man say, that “a good wife is the gift of God ;” again, “a virtuous woman will do her husband good.” Either this, I say, is the reason, or else because the higher powers (for what cause I know not) have given command that it should be so ; which indeed is the reason which they constantly give me, whenever I complain to them of their excessive severity to me.

In Cambridge (as I hear say) all the reformatations in their studies and their statutes which were lately made are now again cancelled and destroyed, and all

things are brought back to their former confusion and old Popery. All the heads of houses who favoured the Gospel simplicity, or who were married, are removed, and others of the Popish faction are put into their places, and so I hear are all the Fellows of colleges served, who refused to bend the knee to Baal. Nor is it strange it should be so there, when the like is done every where else throughout the whole kingdom to all the Archbishops, Bishops, Deans, Prebendaries, Parish Priests, and the whole Clergy. And to tell you much naughty matter in a few words, Popery reigns every where amongst us in all its wonted sway.

The Lord be merciful, and for Christ's sake pardon us our old unkindness and unthankfulness: for when he poured upon us the gifts of his manifold graces and favour, (alas!) we did not serve him, nor render unto him thanks, according to the same. We pastors, many of us, were too cold, and bare too much (alas!) with the wicked world. Our magistrates did abuse to their own worldly gain, both God's Gospel and the ministers of the same. The people in many places were wayward and unkind. Thus of every side and of every sort we have provoked God's anger and wrath to fall upon us: but, blessed might he be, that hath not suffered his to continue in those ways, which so wholly have displeased his sacred Majesty, but hath awakened them by the fatherly correction of his Son's cross, unto his glory and our endless salvation through Jesus Christ our Lord.

My daily prayer is (as God doth know) and by God's grace shall be so long as I live in this world, for you, my dear brethren, that are fled out of your own country, because ye will rather forsake all worldly things, than the truth of God's word. It is even the same that I used to make to God for all those churches abroad through the world, which have for-

saken the kingdom of antichrist, and professed openly the purity of the Gospel of Jesus Christ: that is, that God, our eternal Father, for our Saviour Christ's sake, will daily increase in you the gracious gifts of his heavenly Spirit, to the true setting forth of his glory and of his Gospel, and make you to agree brotherly in the truth of the same, that there rise no root of bitterness among you, that may infect that good seed, that God hath sown in your hearts already. And finally, that your life may be so pure and so honest according to the rule of God's word and according to that vocation whereunto we are called by the Gospel of Christ our Saviour, that the honesty and purity of the same may provoke all, that shall see or know it, to the love of your doctrine, and to love you for your honesty and virtue's sake, and so both in the brotherly unity of your true doctrine, and also in the godly virtue of your honest life, to glorify our Father, which is in heaven.

I must humbly and heartily commend myself to the prayers of you all, especially to you, most dear brother in Christ, and most beloved Grindal, and those of our dear brethren and beloved in the Lord, Cheke, Cox, Turner, Leaver, Sampson, Chambers, and all our brethren and countrymen who sojourn with you, and love our Lord Jesus Christ in truth.

I also recommend to your prayers my most reverend father and fellow-prisoners in the Lord Thomas Cranmer, now indeed most worthy of the title of the great pastor and primate; and that veteran apostle of our nation, and a true one of Christ, H. Latimer. Excuse, brother, the length of this letter; for I believe that from henceforth, most dear brother, you will be troubled with no more of my letters for ever.

Oxford.

NICHOLAS RIDLEY.

End of the Selections from Bishop Ridley.

CERTAIN
DECLARATIONS
AND
CONFESSIONS OF FAITH,

DRAWN UP, SIGNED, AND SET FORTH BY SEVERAL HOLY
BISHOPS, DIVINES, MARTYRS, AND CONFESSORS,
DURING THEIR IMPRISONMENT,
IN THE REIGN OF
QUEEN MARY.

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A DECLARATION,

*Drawn up and sent forth out of Prison, by divers
godly Preachers, concerning their Disputation and
Doctrine of Religion.*

(From Fox's Martyrology, Vol. III. P. 100. Ed. 1641.)

BECAUSE we hear, that it is determined of the magistrates, and such as be in authority, especially of the clergy, to send us speedily out of the prisons of the King's Bench, the Fleet, the Marshalsea, and Newgate, where at this present we are, and of long time some of us have been, not as rebels, traitors, seditious persons, thieves, or transgressors of any laws of this realm, inhibitions, proclamations, or commandments of the Queen's Highness, or any of the council, (God's name be praised therefore!) but only for the conscience we have to God and his most holy word and truth, upon most certain knowledge: because (we say) we hear, that it is determined, we shall be sent to one of the universities of Cambridge or Oxford, there to dispute with such as are appointed in that behalf: in that we purpose not to dispute otherwise, than by writing, except it may be before the Queen's Highness and her council, or before the Parliament Houses; and therefore perchance it will be bruited abroad, that we are not able to maintain by the truth of God's word, and the consent of the true and catholic church of Christ, the doctrine we have generally and severally taught, and some of us have written and set forth; where-through the godly and simple may be offended, and somewhat weakened: we have thought it our bounden duty now, while we may, by writing, to publish and notify the causes why we will not dispute otherwise

than is above said, to prevent the offences which might come thereby.

First, because it is evidently known to the whole world, that the determination of both the universities in matters of religion, especially wherein we should dispute, is directly against God's word, yea, against their own determinations in the time of our late sovereign lord and most godly prince King Edward: and further it is known, they be our open enemies, and have already condemned our causes, before any disputation of the same.

Secondly, because the prelates and clergy do not seek either us, or the truth, but our destruction, and their glory. For, if they had sought us (as charity requireth), then would they have called us forth about this business before their laws were so made, that frankly and without peril we might have spoken our consciences. Again, if they had sought for the verity, they would not have concluded of controversies, before they had been disputed: so that it easily appeareth, that they seek their own glory and our destruction, and not us and the verity. And therefore we have good cause to refuse disputation, as a thing which shall no further prevail than the setting forth their glory, and the suppression of the truth.

Thirdly, because the censors and judges (as we hear who they be) are manifest enemies of the truth, and what is worse, obstinate enemies, before whom pearls are not to be cast, by the commandment of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and by his own example. That they be such, their doings of late at Oxford, and in the convocation-house in October last past, do most evidently declare.

Fourthly, because some of us have been in prison these eight or nine months, where we have had no books, no paper, no pen, no ink, or convenient place for study; we think we should do evil thus

suddenly to descend into disputation with them, who may allege, as they list, the fathers and their testimonies, because our memories have not that, which we have read so readily, as to reprove, when they shall report and wrest the authors to their purpose, or to bring forth that which we may have there for our advantage.

Fifthly, because in disputation we shall not be permitted to prosecute our arguments, but be stopped when we should speak; one saying this, another that, the third his mind, and so on; as was done to the godly learned fathers, especially Dr. Ridley at Oxford, who could not be permitted to declare his mind and meaning of the propositions, and had oftentimes half a dozen at once speaking against him, always interrupting him for prosecuting his argument, and to answer accordingly: we will not speak of the hissing, scoffing, and taunting, which were wonderfully then used. If on this sort, and much worse, they handled those fathers, much more will they be shamefully bold with us, if we should enter into disputation with them.

Sixthly, because the notaries, that shall receive and write the disputations, shall be of their appointment, and such as either do not or dare not favour the truth; and therefore must write, either to please them, or else they themselves (the censors and judges we mean) at their pleasure will put to, and take from that, which is written by the notaries, who cannot, or must not have in their custody that which they write, longer than the disputation endureth, as their doings at Oxford declare. No copy or scroll could any man have by their good will. For the censors and judges will have all delivered into their hands. Yea, if any man was seen there to write, as the report is, the same man was sent for, and his writings taken from him; so must the disputa-

tion serve only for the glory, not of God, but of the enemies of his truth.

For these causes we all think it so necessary not to dispute with them : as if we did dispute, we should do that, which they desire and purposely seek, to promote the kingdom of antichrist, and to suppress (as much as may be) the truth. We will not speak of the offence that might come to the godly ; when they should hear, by the report of our enemies, our answers and arguments framed (you may be sure) for their fancies, to the slandering of the verity.

Therefore we publish, and by this writing notify unto the whole congregation and church of England, that for these aforesaid causes we will not dispute with them, otherwise than with the pen ; unless it be before the Queen's Highness and her council, or before the houses of Parliament, as is above said. If they will write, we will answer ; and by writing confirm and prove, out of the infallible verity, even the very word of God, and by the testimony of the good and most ancient fathers in Christ's church, this our faith and every piece thereof, which hereafter we in a sum do write and send abroad purposely, that our good brethren and sisters in the Lord may know it. And to seal up the same, we are ready, through God's help and grace, to give our lives to the halter or the fire, or otherwise, as God shall appoint ; humbly requiring, and in the bowels of our Saviour Jesus Christ, beseeching all that fear God, to behave themselves, as obedient subjects to the Queen's Highness, and the superior powers, which are ordained of God under her, rather after our example to give their heads to the block, than in any point to rebel, or once to mutter against the Lord's anointed, we mean our sovereign Lady Queen Mary ; into whose heart we beseech the Lord of mercy plen-

tifully to pour the wisdom and grace of his Holy Spirit, now and for ever. Amen.

First, we confess and believe all the canonical books of the Old Testament, and all the books of the New Testament, to be the very true word of God, and to be written by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, and are therefore to be heard accordingly, as the judge, in all controversies and matters of religion.

Secondly, we confess and believe, that the Catholic Church, which is the spouse of Christ, as a most obedient and loving wife, doth embrace and follow the doctrine of these books in all matters of religion, and therefore is she to be heard accordingly; so that those who will not hear this church, thus following and obeying the word of her husband, we account as heretics and schismatics, according to this saying, "If he will not hear the church, let him be unto thee as a heathen."

Thirdly, we believe and confess all the articles of faith and doctrine set forth in the symbol of the Apostles, which we commonly call the Creed; and in the symbols of the council of Nice, kept An. Dom. 324; of Constantinople, kept An. Dom. 384; of Ephesus, kept An. Dom. 432; of Chalcedon, kept An. Dom. 454; of Toletum, the first and fourth. Also in the symbols of Athanasius, Irenæus, Tertullian, and of Damasus, which was about the year of our Lord 376. We confess and believe (we say) the doctrine of the symbols generally and particularly; so that, whosoever doth otherwise, we hold the same to err from the verity.

Fourthly, we believe and confess, concerning justification, that, as it cometh only from God's mercy through Christ, so it is perceived and had of none, who be of years of discretion, otherwise than by faith only, which faith is not an opinion, but a cer-

tain persuasion, wrought by the Holy Ghost in the mind and heart of man ; wherethrough, as the mind is illumined, so the heart is supplied to submit itself to the will of God unfeignedly ; and so sheweth forth an inherent righteousness, which is to be discerned in the article of justification, from the righteousness which God indueth us withal in justifying us, although inseparably they go together. And this we do, not for curiosity or contention sake, but for conscience sake, that it may be quiet, which it never can be, if we confound without distinction, forgiveness of sins and Christ's justice imputed to us, with regeneration and inherent righteousness. By this we disallow the Papistical doctrines of free will, of works of supererogation, of merits, of the necessity of auricular confession and satisfaction to Godward.

Fifthly, we confess and believe concerning the exterior service of God, that it ought to be according to the word of God ; and therefore in the congregation all things public ought to be done in such a tongue, as may be most to edify ; and not in Latin, where the people understand not the same.

Sixthly, we confess and believe, that God only, through Jesus Christ, is to be prayed unto and called upon ; and therefore we disallow invocation or prayer to saints departed this life.

Seventhly, we confess and believe, that, as a man departeth this life, so shall he be judged in the last day generally, and in the mean season is entered, either into the state of the blessed for ever, or damned for ever ; and therefore is either past all help, or else needeth no help of any in this life. By reason whereof we affirm, purgatory, masses of *Scala cœli*, trentals, and such suffrages as the Popish Church doth obtrude as necessary, to be the doctrine of antichrist.

Eighthly, we confess and believe, of the sacraments of Christ, which be baptism and the Lord's supper, that they ought to be ministered according to the institution of Christ, concerning the substantial parts of them; and that they be no longer sacraments, than they be had in use, and used to the end for the which they were instituted.

And here we plainly confess, that the mutilation of the Lord's supper, and the substraction of the one kind from the lay people, is antichrist; and so is the doctrine of transubstantiation of the sacramental bread and wine after the words of consecration, as they be called.

Item, the adoration of the sacrament with honour due unto God, the reservation and carrying about of the same.

Item, the mass to be a propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and dead, or a work that pleaseth God.

All these we confess and believe to be antichrist's doctrine; as is the inhibition of marriage, as unlawful to any state.

And we doubt not, by God's grace, but we shall be able to prove all our confessions here, to be most true by the verity of God's word, and consent of the Catholic Church, which followeth, and hath followed the governance of God's Spirit, and the judgment of his word.

And this, through the Lord's help, we will do, either in disputation by word before the Queen's Highness and her council, or before the Parliament Houses (of whom we doubt not to be indifferently heard); or else with our pens, whensoever we shall be thereto, by them that have authority, required and commanded.

In the mean season, as obedient subjects, we shall behave ourselves toward all that be in authority, and not cease to pray to God for them; that he would

govern them all, generally and particularly, with the spirit of wisdom and grace; and so we heartily desire, and humbly pray all men to do, in no point consenting to any kind of rebellion or sedition against our Sovereign Lady, the Queen's Highness; but where they cannot obey, but they must disobey God, there to submit themselves with all patience and humility, to suffer, as the will and pleasure of the higher powers shall adjudge, as we are ready, through the goodness of the Lord, to suffer whatsoever they shall adjudge us unto, rather than we will consent to any doctrine contrary to this, which we here confess: unless we shall be justly convinced thereof either by writing or by word, before such judges, as the Queen's Highness and her council, or the Parliament Houses, shall appoint. For the universities and clergy have condemned our causes already by the bigger but not by the better part, without all disputation of the same; and therefore most justly we may and do appeal from them to be our judges in this behalf, except it be in writing, that to all men the matter may appear.

The Lord of mercy endue us all with the spirit of his truth, and grace of perseverance therein unto the end.—Amen.

The 8th May 1554.

ROBERT MENAVEN. *alias* ROBERT FARRER
(*Bishop of St. David's*).

ROWLAND TAYLOR (*Rector of Hadley,
Suffolk*).

JOHN PHILPOT (*Archdeacon of Winchester*).

JOHN BRADFORD (*Dean of St. Paul's*).

JOHN WIGORN. and GLOC. *alias* JOHN HOOPER
(*Bishop of Gloucester*).

EDWARD CROME.

JOHN ROGERS (*Prebendary of St. Paul's*).

LAWRENCE SAUNDERS (*Rector of Allhallows,
London*).

EDMUND LAWRENCE.

J. P.

T. M.

To these things aforesaid, do I, MILES COVER-
DALE (*late Bishop of Exeter*), consent and agree,
with these, mine afflicted brethren, being prisoners :
mine own hand.

A

CONFESSION OF FAITH,

BY

JOHN CLEMENT*.

(*From Strype's Ecclesiastical Memorials,*
Vol. iii. App. p. 210.)

Jesus Emmanuel.

*A Confession and Protestation of the Christian Faith,
written by me, John Clement, Anno Domini 1556,
1st April.*

Rom. x. *The belief of the heart justifieth : to confess
with the mouth maketh a man safe.*

John Clement unto the Christian Reader.

FOR two causes especially (dearly beloved in the Lord), I have thought it good presently to put forth a short sum of my faith, and a brief declaration of the substance of the same, grounded upon the sure rock Christ, and the infallible verity of his most holy word.

* There were now abundance of sects and dangerous doctrines, whose maintainers shrouded themselves under the professors of the Gospel. Some denied the Godhead of Christ, some denied his manhood ; others denied the Godhead of the Holy Ghost, original sin, the doctrine of predestination and free election, the descent of Christ into hell (which the Protestants here generally held), the baptism of infants. Some condemned the use of all indifferent things in religion. Others held free-will, man's righteousness, and justification by works, doctrines which the Protestants in the times of King Edward for the most part disowned. By these opinions a scandal was raised upon the true professors. Therefore it was thought fit now by the orthodox, to write and publish summary confessions of their faith, to leave

The first is, for that I see wonderful sorts of sects swarming every where, not only of Papists, which

behind them, when they were dead ; wherein they should disclaim these doctrines, as well as all Popish doctrines whatsoever.

This was done by one John Clement this year, lying a prisoner in the King's Bench for religion, entitled, *A Confession and Protestation of the Christian Faith*. In which it appears, the Protestants thought fit, notwithstanding the condemnation and burning of Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, Hooper, Rogers, Saunders, Bradford, for heretics, to own their doctrine as agreeable to the word of God, and them as such as sealed the same with their own blood. This confession may be looked upon as an account of the belief of the professors in those days ; and to such as desire to be acquainted with such things, not unacceptable. Transcriptions and copies thereof were taken, and so dispersed for the use of good men ; one whereof is in my hands. This person also wrote a pious epistle, out of the King's Bench, March 25th, 1556, expecting death every day, to his neighbours, among whom he chiefly conversed, namely, those that dwelt in Nutfield, Merstham, Chaldon, and thereabout, in the county of Surrey ; wherein he reproved those that were present at the idolatrous mass, and thought themselves faultless, doing it out of civil policy ; and exhorted them to hold fast their profession, and to use no other means to avoid the violence of the persecutors but by flight, which he recommended to them.

This Clement I esteem to be one of that sort of laymen, that, in the private assemblies of the professors, in these hard times, did perform the office of minister among them. For when the learned preachers and ministers were most of them burnt or fled (as they were by the middle of this reign), and the flocks left destitute of their faithful pastors, some of the laity, tradesmen, or others, endued with parts and some learning, used, in that distress, to read the Scriptures to the rest in their meetings, and the letters of the martyrs and prisoners, and other good books ; also to pray with them, and exhort them to stand fast, and to comfort and establish them in the confession of Christ to the death. Clement's burning was prevented by his death in prison, being buried in the back side of the King's Bench, in a dunghill, June the 25th ; where two days before was one Adheral buried, who likewise died in the same prison, and in the same cause. And in the same prison and cause, five days after, died John Careless, and was contumeliously buried where the two others were.—*Strype, Ecc. Mem.* vol. iii. 363.

violently impugn and persecute Christ in his members most tyrannously ; but also of Arians, Anabaptists, and all other kind of heretics, which (under a pretence of the Gospel, and godly living) go about the country deceiving many a simple soul, to whom the depth of Satan's subtlety is not known, and bringeth into sundry sects and schisms, causing them to divide and separate themselves from the true church of Christ, grounded upon the foundation of the Prophets and Apostles, Jesus Christ being the head corner-stone, and to break out of this mystical body. This is one thing, I say, that hath caused me to shew thee my faith, that thou (good reader) mayst know, not only what I hold and believe, but also what the whole church of God, which is the true spouse of Christ, ever hath and doth hold, maintain, and defend ; and also what thou, and every lively member of Christ's true church, ought faithfully to believe, firmly to hold, and earnestly by the Scriptures with sobriety to maintain and defend, if they intend to be saved.

The second cause is, for that I would be ready (as the Scriptures require) to give a reckoning of my faith in the face of all the whole world, and also to be ready (as Saint Peter teacheth), "with meekness to give an answer to every one that shall ask me a question of my faith and hope" that I have in Jesus Christ, and evidently to prove and demonstrate it by the holy Scriptures, and by uniform consent of the primitive church ; from the which, in any wise, I dare not, nor will not in any wise dissent ; no more do thou (dear reader), if thou wilt not be deceived.

For I tell the truth ; Satan, that subtle serpent, hath transformed himself like unto an angel of light, and so craftily he conveyeth himself in these dangerous days, that if it were possible, the very elect

should be deceived. For those, that neither by fear nor by flattery he can bring to his bow, to make them open idolaters, and persecutors of the truth, with the pestilent Papists; nor yet whoremongers, drunkards, extortioners, bribers, pillers, and pollers, with the wicked world; them doth he busily go about to bring into a wonderful estimation of themselves through hypocrisy and vain glory; making them believe that they be far better and holier than any other; and that they be more wise, and have better knowledge and understanding in the pure sense and meaning of the sacred Scriptures, than any other men, be they never so godly, virtuous, witty, or well learned. And when the devil hath gotten them into his lease of self-love and singularity, then headeth he them at his pleasure, and perverteth them as he lusteth; making some to deny Christ to be God, some denying him to be man, some denying the Holy Ghost to be God, some denying original sin, some denying the doctrine of God's firm predestination, and free election of Almighty God in Jesus Christ, which is the very certainty of our salvation; some denying the descension of Christ into hell; some denying the baptism of infants; some condemning and denying all indifferent things at any time to be used of Christian men; with innumerable such like, too long to be recited.

And he hath caused them to deny all these things, which yet God's word doth allow; even so hath he made them to affirm many mad, foolish fantasies, which the word of God doth utterly condemn; as free-will, man's righteousness and justifying of works, with divers such-like, to the great dishonour of God, to the obscuring of his glory, the darkening of his truth, to the great defacing of Christ's death, yea, to the utter destruction of many a simple

soul, that cannot shift from these subtle sleights of Satan, except the Lord shew his great mercy upon them. This hath the subtle serpent sought ever since the beginning ; and much of his pestilent purpose hath he brought to pass in these present perilous days, permitted of God as a just plague to punish our unthankfulness for his truth, and true preachers of the same. The Lord be merciful unto us, and pardon and forgive us our sins and offences, release our iniquities and miseries, and give us true repentance, and increase our faith. Good Lord, defend thy flock, and shorten these sorrowful days for thy Son Jesus Christ's sake. Amen. Farewell, dear reader, praise God only for his truth ; and pray for me his poor unprofitable servant.

Put away contention, and read with discretion.
Try truly by the touchstone. Judge without
affection.

O Lord, increase my faith.

THE Confession of the true Christian Faith and Belief of me, John Clement, the unprofitable servant of Jesus Christ, but yet through his great mercy and grace, made prisoner (with other more in the King's Bench of the same faith) for the testimony of God's everlasting truth ; which faith and belief, I do intend (by the help and assistance of Almighty God) to confirm with my death, and seal with my blood, when the time shall come that the Lord my God hath appointed.

I. I confess and undoubtedly believe, that there is one (and but one) living and true God, and he is everlasting, without parts or passions, of infinite power, wisdom, and goodness, the Maker and

Preserver of all things both visible and invisible ; and in unity of this Godhead, there be three persons of one substance, power, and eternity ; the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.

II. I confess and believe, that the Son of God, the second Person in Trinity, which is the word of the Father, did vouchsafe, for our sakes, to take man's nature in the womb of the blessed Virgin Mary, of her very substance, and became truly man in all points (sin only excepted), so that two whole and perfect natures, that is to say, the Godhead and manhood, were joined together into one person, never to be divided ; whereof is one Christ, very God and very man : who truly suffered, was crucified, dead, and buried, and rose again ; to reconcile us to his Father, and to be a perfect sacrifice for all the sin of mankind, both original and actual. And, therefore, he being perfect God and perfect man, is to be honoured and prayed unto of all men, as the Father is.

III. I do undoubtedly believe in God the Holy Ghost, who is the Lord and giver of life, and the sanctifier of all God's elect. That he is God, equal with the Father, and the Son, and is to be worshipped and prayed unto, of all men, as the Father and the Son is ; to whom, with the Father, and the Son, be all honour, glory, praise, thanks, power, rule, and dominion, for ever and ever. Amen.

IV. I do confess and undoubtedly believe all the whole canonical Scriptures to be most true, and every sentence of the same ; and that the holy Scriptures contain all things necessary to salvation : so that whatsoever is neither read therein, nor may be proved thereby (although the same be sometimes received of the faithful as godly and profitable for an order and comeliness, yet) no man ought to be constrained to believe it as an article of our faith,

or repute it requisite of necessity to salvation ; but whatsoever is directly against it is abominable, and to be warily avoided of all men.

V. I do confess and undoubtedly believe thoroughly in all points the three Creeds, Nicene Creed, Athanasius' Creed, and that which commonly is called the Apostles' Creed. For they may be proved by most certain warrants of the holy Scriptures.

VI. I do confess and faithfully believe, that there is one true, faithful, Christian catholic church, and but one in all the whole world ; which church is built upon the foundations of the Prophets and Apostles, that is to say, upon the word of God which they preached, Jesus Christ being the head corner-stone : who hath purified and cleansed this church in the fountain of water through the word, and hath made it a glorious congregation unto himself, without spot or wrinkle in his sight.

VII. Also, I do confess and believe Jesus Christ (and not the Bishop of Rome) to be the only head of this true church, who only is the giver of life and salvation to every true member of the same, which is the propriety of a true head ; and that in this church only is purely preached and sincerely taught the true word of God, and his sacraments duly ministered according to Christ's institution, in all those things that of necessity are requisite to the same ; if they be not otherwise let or hindered by persecutions : which thing oftentimes chanceth ; for long cannot this true church be without persecution, as the holy Scripture in divers places proveth, neither hath it been from the beginning.

VIII. Also, I do unfeignedly confess and faithfully believe, that through the mere mercy of God in Jesus Christ, I am a true lively member of this blessed church of Christ : and so I do acknowledge,

confess, and believe all those faithful preachers, ministers, and other godly persons to be, that of late have been put to execution, within this realm of England, for the testimony of God's everlasting truth and verity, for whom the Lord is to be praised now and ever : and the same Lord give me, and all other his dear children, grace to follow their good doctrine, and good example of living.

IX. Also, I do believe and acknowledge this true church to be Christ's spouse, his mystical body, the house of God, the ground and pillar of truth, governed continually by the Holy Ghost ; so that it can never wholly err in any necessary point of our salvation, but is able at all times (by the word of God) to dissolve all doubts. Therefore as God is my father, so is this his church and spouse my mother : for she hath, from time to time, nourished, fed, and comforted me with the lively word of God and his blessed sacraments, and hath brought me up in the true understanding and knowledge of the same. Wherefore I do verily purpose, by the grace and help of Almighty God, to continue her true, faithful, and obedient child for ever. For I believe and know that without this church is no salvation nor remission of sins.

X. Also, because the Bishop of Rome and his clergy do usurp to themselves the authority and title of this true church ; here I do openly confess, acknowledge, and believe undoubtedly, that the Bishop of Rome and his clergy, with all their adherents, are the very synagogue of Satan, and the malignant church of antichrist, which doth corrupt the pure word of God, and abuse his blessed sacraments, and hath ever, from time to time (as it doth now), persecuted the true church of Christ ; and I do verily believe that all Jews, Turks, and other infidels, that believe not in Christ, and all heretics, be members of

the same cursed synagogue ; and all they do make but one body of antichrist, the devil being head of that beastly body, who in his members, from the beginning, hath impugned Christ in his true members, and shall do until the world's end ; but yet more at some time than at some other, as it shall please God to suffer him, for the trial of his elect.

XI. And also, I do protest and believe, that the doctrine of the papistical church, concerning holy bread, holy water, holy fire, hallowing of ashes, palms, candles, copes, vestments, chalices, and such-like ; their making and gilding of images ; their serving and worshipping of them ; their going on pilgrimage and procession ; their purgatory, pardons, and praying for the dead ; their masses, dirges, and praying to saints ; their forbidding of meats and marriages ; their doctrine of free-will, justifying of works, and finally, their devilish doctrine of the sacrifice of the mass and transubstantiation, is mere idolatry, superstition, and most detestable blasphemy and abomination in the sight of God, and therefore to be abhorred of all Christian men. And therefore I do here confess, before God and man, that I utterly forsake, renounce, and dissent from all Jews and Turks that are infidels, and from all Papists ; from all Arians, Eutychians, Manicheans, Sabellians, Pelagians, Donatists, Anabaptists, and all other heretics and sectaries, which be contrary to the word of God and his true church. For, as I said before, the true church (being Christ's spouse) is obedient in all things unto the voice of Christ her bridegroom, and will not decline therefrom, to the right hand nor to the left. Neither will she add to, nor diminish from, the word of her husband Christ, to whom with the Father and Holy Ghost be all honour, glory, and praise for ever and ever. Amen.

XII. And furthermore, I do confess and un-

doubtedly believe, that I, and every lively member of this catholic church, is and shall be redeemed, justified, and saved only and solely by the free grace and mere mercy of God in Jesus Christ, through his most precious death and bloodshedding, and in no part by (or for) any of our own good works, merits, or deservings, that we can do or deserve. Notwithstanding, I confess, that all men ought, and are bound by the word of God, to do good works, and to know and keep God's commandments, yet not to deserve any part of our salvation thereby; but to shew their obedience to God, and the fruits of faith unto the world; that the light of their good works may so shine before men, that God our heavenly Father may be glorified thereby. But yet I do confess, that God doth not forgive us our sins, or repute us just for any of our own works, merits, or righteousness, which being compared to the purity which the law of God requireth, should all be found (as Isaiah saith) like the most filthy thing; but for Jesus Christ's sake only, whose most precious death and blood-shedding I heartily acknowledge to be a full and perfect sacrifice, and a sufficient ransom for the sins of all the world, to obtain salvation thereby. And this salvation, redemption, and justification, is apprehended or received of us, by the only faith in Jesus Christ, in that sense and meaning as is declared in the Homily of Justification, which was appointed to be read in the peculiar church of England in good Edward's days the Sixth: which homily, with all the rest, then set forth by his authority, I do affirm and believe to be a true, wholesome, and godly doctrine for all Christian men to believe, observe, keep, and follow.

XIII. Also, I do believe and confess, that the last book which was given to the church of England by the authority of good King Edward the Sixth, and

the whole Parliament, containing the manner and form of common prayer, and ministration of the blessed sacraments in the church of England, they ought to have been received and allowed with all readiness of mind and thankfulness of heart. But (alas!) for our negligence and unthankfulness this great plague of Papistry and schisms is come again among us. God (of his great mercy) deliver us and all England from it shortly, for his glorious name's sake. Amen.

XIV. Also, I do accept, believe, and allow, for a very truth, all the godly articles that were agreed upon in the Convocation-house, and published by the King's Majesty's authority (I mean King Edward the Sixth) in the last year of his most gracious reign.

XV. Now I have declared my faith and belief of and in the holy and blessed Trinity, of the word of God contained in the canonical Scriptures, and of the blessed spouse of Jesus Christ his true church, with a few other things more; I will shew you my faith and belief of the blessed sacraments, which Christ hath instituted and left with his true church, which church, and every member thereof, ought (as they may conveniently) to use the same, as well for their own continual comfort, as also to the stirring up of their own hearts in thankfulness towards God for all his merciful benefits poured upon us through Jesus Christ our Lord. And therefore I believe and acknowledge that our Lord Jesus Christ hath knit together a company of new people with holy sacraments, as but few in number, so most excellent in signification, that is to say, baptism and the Lord's supper. Which sacraments be not only badges and tokens of Christian men's profession, as the Anabaptists say, but rather they be certain and sure witnesses and effectual signs of grace and God's good

will towards us, by the which the Lord doth work invisibly in us, and doth not only quicken, but also strengthen and confirm our faith in him; which sacraments were ordained of Christ, not to be gazed upon, or carried about, nor to be worshipped, as the Papists do use their counterfeited sacrament, to the great dishonour of Almighty God, and to the great danger of many a simple soul; but for that we should rightly use them to the end that they were ordained for, as it is afore said. For in such only as do worthily receive the same, they have a wholesome effect and operation (and yet not of the work wrought, as Papistical schoolmen speak, which words, as it is strange and unknown to the holy Scripture, so it engendereth no godly, but a very superstitious sense); but they that receive the sacraments unworthily, do receive to themselves damnation, as St. Paul saith. Therefore let every man rightly examine himself.

XVI. As concerning the blessed sacrament of baptism, I do confess and undoubtedly believe, that it is the pure ordinance of Almighty God, not only to be a sign of profession, or a mark of difference, whereby Christian men are discerned or known from others that are not christened; but it is also a sign and seal of our new birth; whereby, as by an instrument, they that receive baptism rightly are grafted into the church of Christ, and all the promises of God's mercy concerning the forgiveness of sins, and our adoption to be the sons of God, are visibly signed and sealed to us; yea, faith is confirmed, and grace increased by virtue and prayer unto God. And therefore I do here confess and believe, that the custom used in the church of God to christen or baptize young children, is both good and godly, and agreeable to the word of God; and therefore to be commended, retained, and used in Christ's church.

And I do utterly dissent from the Anabaptists, which hold the contrary ; howbeit I do not condemn the young children of Christian parents that die without baptism, as the proud, presuming Papists do ; but I do rather believe them to be saved by the great mercy of God in Jesus Christ.

XVII. Also I do believe, that if a child be baptized in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, as Christ hath commanded us, that it is truly and sufficiently baptized, though the minister be never so wicked in life or in learning that doth baptize it ; for the effect of God's ordinance doth not depend upon the worthiness of the minister, but upon the truth of God's promises. Therefore I do believe that those children that have been, be, or shall be baptized of the Papistical ministers, be truly baptized, be the minister never so great a Papist. Howbeit, this I do confess and believe, that no Christian man ought to bring or send his child to the Papistical church, or to require baptism of them (they being antichrists) ; for in so doing, he doth confess them to be the true church of Christ ; which is a grievous sin in the sight of God, and a great offence to his true congregation : yet nevertheless, the child so brought, if it be baptized in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, as is aforesaid, that then it is sufficiently baptized. And as for the child (being without understanding), is not in the fault, but the parents or governors be in a great fault for their so doing. Therefore take heed and beware of them for God's sake, and bring not your children to them ; for you ought not to require Christ's sacraments at antichrist's church, but at Christ's true church only. And I do believe that every true Christian man or woman may lawfully baptize in the time of necessity, yea, though it were his or their own child.

XVIII. Also I do confess and believe, that the blessed sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, commonly called the communion, or supper of the Lord, is the blessed and pure ordinance of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, instituted by him the night before his passion, not only to be a bare and naked sign of his body-breaking, and his blood-shedding, and of the love that Christians ought to have amongst themselves one to another ; but much rather to be a sure seal, and a firm testimony of our eternal redemption by Christ's death and blood-shedding : inso-much, that to such as with true faith and feeling of the mercy of God in his promises, do rightly and worthily receive the same according to Christ's institution, they do spiritually receive Christ, God and man, with the effect and commodity of all his mercies, merits, passions, and sufferings for us, as effectually and availably as they were our own, as in deed they are freely given unto us by Christ ; and also as a sure seal and firm testimony to our conscience, that all our sins (be they never so many, so grievous, and so great) be clearly pardoned, released, and forgiven, only for the mere mercy of God, through the death and blood-shedding of his dear Son Jesus Christ, and we made the children of God, and heirs of his kingdom, and incorporated members of his mystical body, as it is full well to be seen and proved in the holy Scripture, and also full well declared in the late Bishop of Canterbury's books, and many other godly works set forth in that most worthy King, Edward the Sixth's days ; and as it was full truly and sincerely preached of these worthy preachers, Thomas Cranmer, late Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Ridley, old Hugh Latimer, Master Hooper, Rogers, Saunders, Bradford, and divers other godly preachers, who have sealed the same with their blood ; and as it is yet also godly defended (by the Scriptures) of

divers others that be yet living, and godly learned men in Christ's church; whose determinations do fully agree with the faithful fathers of the primitive church, but especially with the word of God. And therefore I will not, nor dare not for my life, dissent from them. But I do undoubtedly believe and protest before God and man, that the doctrine of the Papists, concerning transubstantiation, reservation, and adoration, is devilish, detestable, false, feigned, and heretical, and bringeth with it many absurdities and inconveniences, to the utter destruction of all that believe it.

For Christ, as he is perfect God, so is he perfect man, of a reasonable soul, and human flesh subsisting. And forasmuch as the truth of man's nature requireth, that the body of one and the self-same man cannot be at one time in divers places, but must needs be in some one certain place; therefore the body of Christ is not present at one time in many and divers places, the Scripture not testifying the same: for the Scripture doth testify that Christ was taken up into heaven, and there shall continue unto the end of the world. And again he saith, "I went out from the Father, and came into the world; again I leave the world, and go unto the Father." At which saying, his disciples said unto him, "Lo, now talkest thou plainly," with divers other such-like places in the Scripture. Therefore neither I nor any other Christian man ought to believe, or openly to confess the real and bodily presence of Christ's body and blood to be in the sacramental bread and wine, or under the accidents of the same, as the Papists do say at their pleasure, and would force us to believe it. God shortly put them to silence, and diminish their tyrannous power! For this their transubstantiation, or changing of the substance of bread and wine into the substance of Christ's body and blood, cannot be

proved by the holy Scriptures, but is clean repugnant against it; and so is the taking away of the one half of the sacrament from the laymen against Christ's word, which said, "Drink ye all hereof."

And it is a very drift of the devil to deface the glory of Christ's death, by setting up a new sacrifice for sin—I mean that most pestilent, poisoned, papistical mass, which the antichrists do affirm to be a sacrifice satisfactory and propitiatory, to obtain the remission of sins for the quick and the dead, contrary to all the holy Scriptures, especially against the excellent Epistle to the Hebrews, wherein it is plainly proved that Christ offered himself upon the cross once for all, and with that one oblation he made a full satisfaction for the sins of all that truly repent and believe in him. For "with that one offering (saith St. Paul) hath he made perfect for ever them that are sanctified, and now is he set down on the right hand of God, and from henceforth tarrieth there until his enemies be made his footstool." And then (that is to say, at the latter day) "to them that heartily look for him, shall he appear again and receive them to glory;" which most desired day of thy comfortable coming hasten, dear Lord, for thy great mercy, truth, and promise sake. Amen. Let all true faithful Christian hearts hereunto unfeignedly say, Amen.

XIX. Furthermore, seeing I do perceive that there is a wonderful sort of the Pelagians sect swarming every where, which do maintain, teach, and defend, that all men (having faith or not, being regenerate or not regenerate) have power, choice, and free will to choose life, and to keep the commandments of God in such wise as the law of God requireth; I have thought it good to set forth my mind and belief herein also. Wherefore I do confess and believe that Adam by his fall lost from himself, and

all his posterity, all the freedom, choice, and power of man's will to do good. So that all the will and imaginations of man's heart is only to evil, and altogether subject to sin and misery, and bond and captive to all manner of wickedness; so that it cannot once think a good thought, much less then do any good deed, as of his own work, pleasant and acceptable in the sight of God, until such time as the same be regenerate by the Holy Ghost, and prevented by the grace of God. For, as St. James saith, "Every good and perfect gift is from above, and cometh down from the Father of light." And Christ saith, "Without me ye can do nothing." And Paul saith, that "it is God which worketh in us both the will and the deed even of good will."

Therefore until the spirit of regeneration be given us of God, we can neither will, do, speak, nor think any good thing that is acceptable in his sight. Let us therefore always pray unto God, that he will make in us a clean heart, and renew in us an upright spirit; that by the mighty operation thereof we may do, speak, and think all things to his glory and commodity of our brethren, in respect of his great mercy, love, and kindness only; for without this his good Spirit, which doth work true faith in us, all our doings be very sin and hypocrisy in the sight of God, how gay and glorious soever the same appear in the sight of men. But here I do not deny, but that every reasonable man (during the general influence of God) hath in himself power and will in things human; as to eat and drink, to build and plant, to learn this science or that, to marry, &c. yea, to fast and pray, to do alms-deeds, to hear or read God's word, and so of all other like operations. For men are not images or dead posts.

That men are free in things human, it doth appear most clearly by the philosophers and other

heathen people, which did, and do yet flourish in moral virtues exceedingly. But to do any of these things in such sort, as God's word doth require them to be done, and as is pleasant, acceptable, and allowed in his sight, is not in the power or liberty of any man, not being regenerate by the Spirit of God : because it is not in his power to have the supernatural knowledge of God, seeing the same is so far above his might.

Therefore, when I say, man hath not free will to do good, I mean it of works that are holy, spiritual, and divine, the which are pleasant and acceptable to God, as to have lively light, spiritual knowledge and understanding of God, to have in him firm faith and hope, to love him, honour him, praise him, reverence him, and serve him with all his heart, soul, and mind, to order all his life to the glory of God, to obey and commit himself wholly to his governance, with mortifying his fleshly appetites, and denying himself the flesh, and his own worldly wisdom ; to love his neighbour as himself, yea, even his very enemies, for the love of God, with all his heart to pray for them, and to do them all the good he can possibly ; but to do such works to the glory of God, is not in the power or liberty of the natural man, until he be born anew, as Christ said to Nicodemus. For, as Saint Paul saith, "The natural man perceiveth not the things that be of God, neither can he perceive them ; for he is dead in Adam, and of nature the child of wrath."

For as a man that is dead cannot raise up himself, or work any thing towards his resurrection, or he that is not, work towards his creation ; even so the natural man (which is dead in Adam as though he were not) cannot work any thing towards his regeneration ; but as a body without the soul cannot move but downwards, so the soul of man without

the spirit of Christ (which is his life), cannot lift up himself, but must of necessity descend evermore downwards, regarding but his own interest. Therefore he cannot but sin, he cannot but remain in distrust, and in infidelity, so displeasing God in all things that he doth. He must be born again to do the works that be spiritual and holy, and by ourselves we cannot be regenerate by any means, for it is only the work of God. To whom let us pray with David, that he will take away our stony hearts, and create in us new hearts by the mighty operations of his Holy Spirit, who lead, guide, and comfort us by the certain feeling of his great mercy towards us in Jesus Christ, for his glorious name sake. Amen.

XX. Finally, forasmuch as I do perceive that not only Papists, but also divers others that be professors of God's word, being moved of an earnest zeal, than of any true knowledge of the Scriptures, do, with words and writings, impugn the most pure, heavenly, sweet, comfortable, and true doctrine of God's firm predestination and free election of us in Christ, according to the purpose of his grace, before the whole world began, which is the sure certainty of our salvation in Jesus Christ; I will, with the help of Almighty God, briefly declare a short sum of my faith in this article also.

Wherefore, I do acknowledge, confess, and undoubtedly believe that God our eternal Father (whose power is incomprehensible, whose wisdom is infinite, and his judgments unsearchable) hath only of his great abundant mercy, and free goodness, and favour in Jesus Christ, ordained, predestinated, elected, and appointed (before that the foundation of the world was laid) an innumerable multitude of Adam's posterity to be saved from their sins through the merits of Christ's death and blood-shedding only; and to be (through Christ) his adopted sons and

heirs of his everlasting kingdom, in whom his great mercy shall be magnified for ever. Of which most happy number, my firm faith and stedfast belief is, that I (although unworthy) am one, only through the mercy of God in Jesus Christ our Lord and Saviour.

And I believe, and am surely certified, by the testimony of God's good Spirit, and the infallible truth of his most holy word, that neither I, nor any of these his chosen children, shall finally perish, or be damned, although we all (if God should enter into judgment with us according to our deeds) have justly deserved it; but such is God's great mercy towards us (for our Lord Jesus Christ's sake), that our sins shall never be imputed unto us. We are all given to Christ to keep, who will lose none of us, neither can any thing pluck us forth of his hands, or separate us from him; he hath married us unto him by faith, and made us his pure spouse without spot or wrinkle in his sight, and will never be divorced from us; he hath taken from us all our sins, miseries, and infirmities, and hath put them upon himself, and hath clothed us with his righteousness, and enriched us with his merits, and mercies, and most loving benefits.

And he hath not only done all this, and much more for us, but also of his great mercy, love, and kindness, he doth still keep the same, most surely, safely for us, and will do so for ever: for he loveth us unto the end. His Father hath committed us unto his safe custody, and none can ever be able to pluck us forth of his hands. He is stronger than the devil, death, sin, or hell, for he only hath overcome them all for our behoof, and yielded unto us his glorious victory, so that they can never hurt us any more unto death (I mean the second death): he hath registered our names in the book of life, in

such sort that the same shall never be erased out. In consideration whereof, we have good cause to rejoyce, to thank God, and heartily to love him, and of love unfeignedly to do whatsoever he willeth us to do, for he loved us first, &c.

Finally, Christ testifieth himself, that it is not possible that the elect should be deceived. Verily, then, can they not be damned. Therefore, I confess and believe with all my heart, soul, and mind, that not one of all God's elect children shall finally perish or be damned. For God, who is their Father, both can and will preserve, keep, and defend them for ever. For seeing he is God, he wanteth no power to do it; and also seeing he is their most dear loving Father, he lacketh no good will towards them, I am sure. How can it be, but he will perform their salvation to the uttermost, since he wanteth neither power nor good will to do it. And this most heavenly, true, and comfortable doctrine, doth not bring with it a fleshly, idle, carnal, and careless lie, as some men unjustly do report of it, whose eyes God open, and pardon their ignorance and rash judgments; but rather it doth maintain and bring with it all true godliness and Christian purity of life, with most earnest thankfulness of heart in respect of God's great mercy and loving kindness only. For, as Saint John saith, "He that hath this hope in him, purgeth himself, as He is pure;" and he that hath the certain feeling of this in his heart, cannot continue or delight in sin.

Therefore, is this a most true, godly, necessary, wholesome, and comfortable doctrine to be received, embraced, learned, and faithfully believed and followed of all true Christian men. Whose heart soever God moveth to be desirous to know further in the truth of this matter, let him read that godly

book of Barnardine Oehyne's Twenty-five Sermons (or at the least thirteen of them, the last thirteen), which teacheth this matter very godly, and at large; so that a godly, meek, and humble mind, may thereby be satisfied abundantly. But beware in any wise of curiosity, that insatiable beast. Reverence and worship the deep secrets and judgments of God, which are unsearchable, and past finding out. Reason not with God, why he doth this or that, for he is holy in all his works, and righteous in all his ways, and hath done all things with equity and mercy, justice and judgment.

As for reprobation, I have nothing to say of it; for Saint Paul saith, "What have we to do with them that are without?" God, for Christ's sake, open our eyes, that we may clearly see his truth, and give us hearts meekly to yield to the same. The Lord increase our faith, and true feeling of our election, and sure certainty of our salvation in Jesus Christ, to whom with the Father, and the Holy Ghost, for our election, vocation, justification, and glorification, be all honour, glory, praise, thanks, power, rule, and dominion, for ever and ever. Amen.

The Conclusion.

Let it not offend thee (dear reader), that in the expressing or declaration of my faith, I do so much set forth the praise and commendation of the true church, and of the godly learned preachers of the same; as though I should seem to lean too much to men, and to build my faith upon the wisdom and learning of men, and not only upon the infallible word of God, wherein is contained all verity. For doubtless I do not depend upon the judgment of any man, further than the same doth agree with the true touchstone, which is the holy Scriptures;

wherein (I thank my Lord God) I have been continually exercised, even from my youth up, as they that have known my bringing up, can tell. And some persecution I have suffered for the same.

And now it hath pleased God to make me a prisoner for the testimony thereof. And I think that shortly I must give my life for it, and so confirm it with my blood, which thing I am well contented to do. And I most heartily thank my Lord God therefore, that is to say, for this his special gift of persecution for righteousness sake. And though for my sins God might justly have condemned me to hell fire for ever, and also have caused me to suffer both shame and persecution in this life, for evil doing; yet hath he (of his great mercy in Jesus Christ, according to his own good will and purpose) dealt most mercifully with me; as to give me this grace and favour in his sight, that I shall suffer persecution of the wicked, with his elect people, for the testimony of his truth; yea, even with the Prophets and Apostles, and with his dear Son Jesus Christ himself, to the end I may reign with him in glory. For the Scripture saith, "If we suffer with Christ, we shall reign with Christ; but if we deny him, he also will deny us." And again: "All that will live godly in Christ Jesus must suffer persecutions."

Thus can I testify both by the word of God, and also by experience, that the cross of Christ is an inseparable companion with the pure profession of the Gospel. And the truth being taken to heart in youth, and planted therein deeply with affliction for the same, it will not be washed away with the strong storm of troubles and persecutions, be the tempest never so great. I have written nothing, but that which I am well able to prove by the plain text of the holy Scripture, which (as the Prophet saith)

“giveth wisdom unto babes, and is a lantern unto my feet, and a light unto my paths;” and I will not, nor dare not for my life, step one foot further than I have that lantern going before me. And so far dare I boldly go, though all the world would counsel and command me to the contrary.

The word of God is that measuring line or rod which was committed to Ezekiel, and to John, to mete all things with. It is the true touchstone wherewith Saint John willeth us to try the spirits; yea, the word of God is the thing that ought to be judge of all our doings. For by his word that he hath spoken, shall all things be judged in the last day. Verily, no man can give the word of God too high praise, nor yet give too much credit unto it; for it is the everlasting truth, and the light of the world, and expelleth all mists of ignorance, and clouds of error.

Notwithstanding, as it is unto some the savour of life unto life; even so it is unto some others, the savour of death unto death; as Christ himself is unto some a rock to rise by, and to other some, a stone to stumble at. I would wish all men to read the holy Scripture with diligent prayer day and night, yea, and to mark it well; and yet not to refuse the ordinary means that God doth send to instruct them by (as some do, which will allow no men’s judgments, but their own; nor look upon any man’s godly expositions upon the same). For God hath set an order in his church, and doth give his gifts diversely, to some more, and to some less, as his godly wisdom pleaseth, for the edification of his body, which is his congregation. Therefore he (whatsoever he be) that refuseth or despiseth this order, cannot but fall into divers errors and pernicious sects, every man as his own fantasy doth lead him. For, as David saith, “He that will understand

the secrets of the Lord, must enter into his sanctuary." That is to say, he must be at unity with Christ's church, which is grounded upon the word of God, and governed continually by his holy and mighty Spirit; which judgeth and truly discusseth all things.

And doubtless, I dare affirm that God hath sent in our time very excellent preachers and ministers of his holy word, such, as more excellent in life, but especially in doctrine, and more plenty of them hath not been seen nor heard in all this realm of England, who have sincerely preached and testified his truth unto the world, and have most constantly confirmed and sealed the same with their blood. And albeit that I must needs confess, that God hath used their words and writings, as his good instruments and means, to bring me first to the true knowledge and understanding of his everlasting word; yet now I do not believe it only because they have wrote and spoken it; but because I know it myself to be most true, though they themselves, or an angel from heaven, would come and say the contrary. As the people of Samaria said to the woman, which first brought them tidings of Christ, "Now we," said they, "believe, not because thou hast told us, but because we have heard and seen him ourselves." Even so (I thank my Lord God most heartily), I have (by faith in him and in his holy word) both seen and heard Jesus Christ to be my only and most merciful Saviour and Redeemer. Therefore, I cannot but testify that which I have both seen and heard.

Thus have I (dear reader), as briefly as I can, declared the whole sum and substance of my faith, grounded and established upon the sure and immovable rock, Christ, and the infallible testimony of his pure and holy word, as I am well able to prove

before the face of all the whole world. And I trust, by the grace, help, and strength of Almighty God, to confirm it with my death, and seal the same with my blood. Strengthen and comfort me, good Lord, with thy holy and mighty Spirit, that I may boldly confess my faith in thee, and in thy holy word, before the face of all men; and not to fear to die for the same, when the time is full come, which thou hast appointed for that purpose. All faithful hearts pray for me. The blessing of God be with you all. Amen.

“ Give the glory to God only :
For he alone is worthy.”

By me,

JOHN CLEMENT.

A
CONFESSION OF FAITH,

Addressed to the Christian Church,

BY THE

REV. ROBERT SAMUEL *,

Rector of Barfold, Suffolk, and Martyr in Christ's holy Cause.

The belief of the heart justifieth, and the knowledge with the mouth maketh a man safe. Rom. x.

Fear not the curse of men, be not afraid of their blasphemies and revilings; for worms and moths shall eat them up like cloth and wool, but my righteousness shall endure for ever, and my saving health from generation to generation. Isaiah, li.

CONSIDERING with myself these perilous times, perishing days, and the unconstant and miserable state of man, the decay of our faith, the sinister report and false slander of God's most holy word; these

* "The Rev. Robert Samuel was in King Edward's days a very godly and right faithful preacher of God's word, who for his valiant and constant behaviour in his sermons, seemeth worthy of high admiration. He was minister at Barfold, in Suffolk, where he taught faithfully and fruitfully that flock which the Lord had committed to his charge, so long as the time would suffer him to do his duty.

"At the last being removed from the ministry, and put from his benefice (as many other good pastors were beside), when he could not avoid the raging violence of the time, yet would not he give over his care that he had for his flock, but would teach them privately and by stealth when he could not openly be suffered so to do."

When he was committed to prison through the persecuting malice of the Popish Bishop of Norwich, he was treated with

urgent causes in conscience do constrain me to confess and acknowledge my faith and meaning in Christ's holy religion, as St. Peter teacheth me, saying, "Be ready always to give an answer to every man that asketh you a reason of the hope that is in you, and that with meekness and fear, having a good conscience, that when they backbite you as evil doers, they may be ashamed, forasmuch as they have falsely accused your good conversation in Christ."

As touching my doctrine, for that little talent that God hath given me, God I take to record, mine own conscience and mine auditory knoweth, that I neither in doctrine nor morals willingly taught any other thing than I received of the holy Patriarchs, Prophets, Christ, and his Apostles. For it were not only sin, but also the very part of a cursed miscreant, to deny, to belie, or betray the innocency of that heavenly doctrine, or to be ashamed to confess and stand to the defence of the same; seeing that Christ planted it with his most precious blood, and

singular cruelty, which he bore with the utmost patience and constancy.

"The Bishop, therefore, thinking that he might as easily prevail with Samuël, as he had done with others before, kept him in a very strait prison at his first coming, where he was chained bolt upright to a great post, in such sort, that, standing only on tiptoe, he was fain to stay up the whole poise or weight of his body thereby. And, to make amends for the cruelty or pain that he suffered, they added a far more grievous torment, keeping him without meat and drink, whereby he was unmercifully vexed through hunger and thirst; saving that he had every day allowed two or three mouthfuls of bread, and three spoonfuls of water, to the end that he might be reserved to further torment, than that they would reserve his life. O worthy constancy of the martyr! O pitiless hearts of the Papists, worthy to be complained of, and to be accused before God and nature! O the wonderful strength of Christ in his members!

"This blessed Samuel, the servant of Christ, was burned at Ipswich, Aug. 31, 1555."—*Fox*, vol. iii. p. 413, 414.

all good men have more esteemed the true and infallible word of God, than all this transitory world, or their own mortal lives. And I believe, this doctrine of the Patriarchs, Prophets, Christ, and his Apostles, to be sufficient and absolutely perfect to instruct and teach me, and all the holy church, of our duties towards God, the magistrates, and our neighbours.

First, and principally, I do assuredly believe, without any doubting, that there is one Deity or divine Essence, and infinite Substance: which is both called, and is indeed God everlastingly, unbodily, impartible, immeasurable in power, wisdom, and goodness, the maker and preserver of all things, as well visible as invisible; and yet there be three distinct Persons, all of one Godhead, or divine Being, and all of one power; coequal, consubstantial, co-eternal, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.

“I believe in God the Father Almighty, &c.” As touching God, the Father of Heaven, I believe as much, as holy Scripture teacheth me to believe. The Father is the first Person in the Trinity, the first cause of our salvation, which hath blessed us with all manner of blessings in heavenly things by Christ; who hath chosen us before the foundations of the world were laid, that we should be holy and without blame before him; who hath predestinated us and ordained us to be his children of adoption, through Jesus Christ; in him, as it is said, we live, we move, and have our being; he nourisheth, feedeth, and giveth meat to every creature.

“And in Jesus Christ, his only Son, our Lord.” I believe that the Word, that is, the Son of God, the second Person in the Trinity, did take man's nature, in the womb of the blessed Virgin Mary, so that there be in him two natures, a divine nature,

and a human nature, in the unity of one person inseparable, conjoined and knit in one Christ, truly God, and truly man, the express and perfect image of the invisible God, wherein the will of God, the Father, shineth apparently; and wherein man, as it were in a glass, may behold what he ought to do, that he may please God, the Father.

“Born of the Virgin Mary;” truly suffering his passion, “crucified, dead, and buried,” to the intent to bring us again into the favour with God the Father Almighty, and to be a sacrifice, host, and oblation, not only for original sin, but also for all actual sins of the whole generation of mankind. For all the works, merits, deservings, doings, and obedience of man towards God, although they be done by the Spirit of God, and in the grace of God, yet being thus done, be of no validity, worthiness, nor merit before God, except God, for his mercy and grace, account them worthy for the worthiness and merits of Jesus Christ.

The same Christ “went down to the hell, and truly rose again the third day, and ascended into the heavens,” that he might still there reign and have dominion over all creatures: “and from thence shall come, &c.”

I believe in the Holy Ghost, coequal with God the Father and the Son, and proceeding from them both; by whose virtue, strength, and operation, the true Catholic Church, which is the communion and society of saints, is guided in all truth and verity, and kept from all errors and false doctrine, the devil, and all power of sin. Which church is sanctified and hallowed with the precious blood and Spirit of our Lord Jesus Christ; which hath also her sign and mark, that she heareth and followeth the voice of her only and true Pastor, Christ, and no strangers. This church also is the house of God, the congrega-

tion of the living God, the pillar of truth, the lively body of Christ, a church both in name and deed.

I believe the remission of sins, by the only means and merits of Christ's death and passion; who is made unto us of God, that only sacrifice and oblation, offered once for all and for ever, for all them that be sanctified.

I believe the resurrection of the body, whereby in the last day all men shall rise again from death, the souls joined again to the bodies; the good to everlasting life, the wicked to everlasting pain and punishment. And nothing may more certainly stablish and confirm our faith, that we shall rise again, immortal both in body and soul, than the resurrection of Christ, our Saviour, and first fruits of the dead. Now that Christ, our head, is risen, we being his body and members must follow our Head. Death, hell, and sin cannot sunder nor pluck us from him. For as the Son cannot be divided nor sundered from the Father, nor the Holy Ghost from them both, no more may we, being the faithful members of Christ, be separated from Christ. And for a confirmation of our resurrection, Christ would be seen after his resurrection in his most glorious body, his wounds being handled and felt, speaking and teaching, eating and drinking, &c. "We look," saith St. Paul, "for Jesus Christ our Saviour, which shall transfigure our vile bodies, and conform them to his glorious body by the same power and virtue, wherewith he is able to subdue all things." Even like as the grain of wheat sown in the ground is first putrefied, and brought as into a thing of nought; yet, after that, it springeth up freshly with a more goodly colour, form, and beauty, than it had before. "The body is sown in corruption, and raised in incorruption; it is sown in dishonour, and riseth in honour."

Thus I verily know, and assuredly believe the resurrection of our bodies, and to have life eternal by Christ, and for Christ's sake. "Verily, verily, I say unto you," saith Christ, "he, that heareth my word, and believeth on Him that sent me, hath everlasting life, and shall not come into damnation, but is escaped from death to life." It is Christ that died once for our sins, and is risen again, never more to die : it is he that swalloweth up death, and hath cast it under his feet for ever. What now can death do unto us ? Verily, nothing else, but for a little time separate our souls from our wretched bodies, that divine substance from a mass of sin, that eternal life from a body of death, and to send our souls out of this miserable, wretched, and sorrowful life, cumbered with all calamities, unto that most blessed felicity and joy eternal.

As concerning the holy and reverend sacraments of Christ's church, which be in number two, the sacrament of baptism, and the supper of the Lord : I believe them to be, as Saint Paul calleth them, confirmations or seals of God's promises, which have added to them a promise of grace ; and therefore they are called visible signs of invisible grace.

The sacrament of baptism is a mark of Christ's church, a seal and confirmation of our acceptance into the grace and favour of God for Christ's sake. For his innocency, his righteousness, his holiness, his justice, is ours, given us of God, and our sins and unrighteousness, by his obedience and abasing of himself to the death of the cross, are his ; whereof baptism is the sign, seal, and confirmation.

Baptism is also a sign of repentance, to testify that we be born to the waves of perils, and changes of life : to the intent that we should die continually, as long as we live, from sin, and rise again like new men unto righteousness. (Rom. vi.)

The other sacrament, which is the supper and holy maundy of our Saviour Christ, whereby the church of Christ is known, I believe to be a remembrance of Christ's death and passion, a seal and confirmation of his most precious body, given unto death, even to the vile death of the cross, where-with we are redeemed and delivered from sin, death, hell, and damnation. It is a visible word, because it worketh the same thing in the eyes, which the word worketh in the ears. For like as the word is a mean to the ears, whereby the Holy Ghost moveth the heart to believe (Rom. x.): so this sacrament is a mean to the eyes, whereby the Holy Ghost moveth the heart to believe: it preacheth peace between God and man; it exhorteth to mutual love and all godly life, and teacheth to condemn the world, for the life to come, when Christ shall appear, which now is in heaven, and no where else as concerning his human body.

Yet do I believe assuredly, that his very body is present in his most holy supper at the contemplation of our spiritual eyes, and so verily eaten with the mouth of our faith. For, as soon as I hear these most comfortable and heavenly words spoken and pronounced by the mouth of the minister; "This is my body, which is given for you:" when I hear, I say, this heavenly harmony of God's infallible promises and truth; I look not upon, neither do I behold bread and wine; for I take and believe the words simply and plainly, even as Christ spake them. For, hearing these words, my senses be rapt and utterly excluded: for faith wholly taketh place, and not flesh, nor the carnal imagination of our gross, fleshly, and irreverent eating after the manner of our bodily food, which profiteth nothing at all, as Christ witnesseth (John, vi.). But with a sorrowful and wounded conscience, an hungry and a thirsty

soul, a pure and faithful mind, do I fully embrace, behold, and feed, and look upon that most glorious body of Christ in heaven, at the right hand of God the Father, very God, and very man; which was crucified and slain, and his blood shed for our sins; there now making intercession, offering and giving his holy body for me, for my body, for my ransom, for my full price and satisfaction; who is my Christ, and all that ever he hath. And by this spiritual and faithful eating of this lively and heavenly bread, I feel the most sweet sap and taste of the fruits, and benefits, and unspeakable joys of Christ's death and passion, fully digested into the bowels of my soul. For my mind is quieted from all worldly adversity, turmoilings, and troubles; my conscience is pacified from sin, death, hell, and damnation; my soul is full, and hath even enough, and will no more; for all things are but loss, vile dung, and dross, vain vanity, for the excellent knowledge-sake of Christ Jesus, my Lord and Saviour.

Thus now is Christ's flesh my very meat indeed, and his blood my very drink indeed, and I am become flesh of his flesh, and bone of his bones. Now I live, yet not I, but Christ liveth in me: yea, I dwell in him, and he in me; for through faith in Christ, and for Christ's sake we are one, that is, of one consent, mind, and fellowship with the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. (John, xvii.) Thus am I assured and fully persuaded, and on this rock have I builded by God's grace my dwelling and resting-place for body and soul, life and death. And thus I commit my cause unto Christ, the righteous and just Judge, who will another day judge these debates and controversies; whom I humbly beseech to cast his tender and merciful eyes upon the afflicted and ruinous churches, and shortly to reduce them into a godly and perpetual concord. Amen.

Thus do I believe, and this is my faith and my understanding in Christ, my Saviour, and his true and holy religion. And this whosoever is ashamed to do among this adulterous and sinful generation, "of him shall the Son of man be ashamed, when he cometh in the glory of his Father with his holy angels."

ROBERT SAMUEL.

THE FAITH AND GODLY AGREEMENT

OF SUCH

*Prisoners *, as, before the Bishop of London at Fulham, the 14th Day of June, were condemned, and burnt together at Stratford le Bow, the 27th of the same Month: whose Names hereunder are subscribed.*

(From Strype's Ecclesiastical Memorials, Vol. III.)

I. WE all confess and constantly believe, that there is one God, and but one true living and everlasting God, without parts or passions; of infinite power, wisdom, and goodness; the maker and preserver of all things, both visible and invisible: and that in unity of this Godhead, there are three Persons of one equal substance, power, majesty, goodness, and eternity, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, as it is truly taught and believed in the true church of Christ, grounded upon God's holy word, and ever

* Thirteen persons were this year burnt together at Stratford Bow; who also subscribed a confession. The occasion whereof was this: Feckenham, Dean of St. Paul's, had publicly in the pulpit at Paul's Cross, the Sunday after they were condemned, defamed them, by declaring, "That he had talked with them, and that they were all of different opinions; that there were sixteen of them, and that they were of sixteen sundry opinions." For this was one of the matters the Romanists used to boast of then, as well as of latter times, namely, their unity in doctrine, and the dissensions of Protestants. In vindication therefore of themselves, these good men, before their death, made a declaration of their faith, which is printed in Fox, and signed by sixteen; for so many were condemned by Bonner to be burnt: but Cardinal Pole sent his dispensation for the saving the lives of three of them, who had, it seems, recanted, and promised to submit to penance, which dispensation being worth observing, is in the Catalogue. But besides this confession, signed by the sixteen, there was another signed by those thirteen that were burnt; which being not printed in Fox's book, I have from a MS. transmitted into the same place, which agrees much with Clement's confession before said.

shall be: of which true church we do acknowledge ourselves to be, and every one of us do also acknowledge ourselves to be true and lively members one of another.

II. And we confess and undoubtedly believe, that the second Person in the Trinity, which is the everlasting Son of God the Father, did vouchsafe for our sakes to take our humanity upon him, in the womb of the blessed Virgin Mary, of her very substance, and became truly man in all points, sin only excepted: so that two whole and perfect natures, that is to say, the Godhead and manhood, were joined together in one Person, never to be divided, even in Christ Jesus, which is very God and very man: of whose kingdom there shall be no end.

III. And we heartily confess and believe all and every article of the Christian faith, contained and rehearsed in the symbol, commonly called the Apostles' Creed, and also the Creed called Athanasius' Creed.

IV. Also we do confess and believe, and faithfully acknowledge, that all salvation, justification, redemption, and remission of sins, cometh wholly and solely by the mere mercy and favour of God in Jesus Christ, purchased unto us through his most precious death and blood-shedding only, and in no part or piece by or through any of our own merits, works, or deservings, how many or good soever they be. Notwithstanding, lest any man should mistake us, that we do deny or destroy good works, we do acknowledge and confess that all men are bound by God's word to do good works, and to know and keep the commandments of Almighty God: yet not to deserve any piece of our salvation thereby, but to shew our obedience thereby unto God, and the fruits of faith unto the world; that the light of our good works may so shine before men, that God our eternal Father may be glorified thereby: and

we utterly deny and defy the idle, barren, and dead faith, which holy St. James speaketh of in his Epistle, which hath no good works following it. But yet still we do affirm, that God doth not forgive us our sins, or repute us just in his sight, for any of our own works; for the best of them, compared to the purity which the law of God requireth, shall be found, as Isaiah saith, like a filthy cloth; but for Jesus Christ's sake only, whose most precious death and blood-shedding we heartily acknowledge to be a full and perfect sacrifice, and a sufficient ransom for the sins of all the whole world; so that all they which do truly repent and believe shall be saved; and that there is no decree of God to the contrary, so that they do persevere to the end.

V. Also we believe, that the sacrament of baptism is not only a sign of profession, and mark of difference, whereby Christian men are discerned from others that are not christened, but it is also a sign and seal of our new birth; whereby, as by an instrument, they that receive baptism rightly, are grafted into the church. The promises of forgiveness of sins, and our adoption to be the sons of God, are visibly signed and sealed; faith is confirmed, and grace increased, by virtue of prayer unto God; and that the custom of the church to christen young children, is to be commended, and in any wise retained.

VI. Also we believe, that the supper of the Lord is not only a sign of the love that Christians ought to have amongst themselves one to another, but also a sacrament of our redemption by Christ's death: insomuch, as to them that rightly, worthily, and with faith receive the same, the bread which they break is the communion of the body of Christ; likewise the cup of blessing is the communion of the

blood of Christ; neither was it, by Christ's ordinance, commanded to be kept, carried about, lifted up, nor worshipped.

VII. Also we believe, that as the godly consideration of predestination and our election in Christ is full of sweet, pleasant, and unspeakable comfort to godly persons, and such as feel in themselves the working of the Spirit of Christ, mortifying the works of the flesh and the earthly members, and drawing up the mind to high and heavenly things; as well because it doth greatly establish and confirm our faith of eternal salvation to be enjoyed through Christ, as because it doth fervently kindle our love towards God: so for curious and carnal persons, lacking the Spirit of Christ, to have continually before their eyes the sentence of God's predestination, is a most dangerous downfall; whereby the devil may thrust them either into desperation, or else into wretchlessness of most unclean living.

VIII. Also we believe, that the offering of Christ once for ever, is the perfect redemption, the pacifying of God's wrath, and satisfaction for all the sins of the world, both original and actual; and that there is none other satisfaction for sin but that alone: wherefore the sacrifice of the mass, in which is said that the priest doth offer Christ for the quick and the dead, to have remission of sin and pain, is most devilish and dangerous deceit.

EDMUND HURST.

HENRY WYE.

RAFE JACKSON.

JOHN ROATH.

HENRY ADLINGTON.

WILLIAM HOLLOWELL.

LION A COISE.

THOMAS BOWYER.

JOHN DORRIFAL.

ELIZABETH PEPPER.

LAURENCE PERNAM.

AGNES GEORGE.

GEORGE SEARLE.

[All Essex men and women, except Lion a Coise, who was a Dutchman.]

A CONFESSION OF FAITH,

*Delivered to EDMUND BONNER, Bishop of London, before the Mayor and Sheriffs, and in the Presence of all the People there appointed, March 9, 1555, by THOMAS CAUSTON and THOMAS HIGBED *, of the County of Essex, Martyrs for the Gospel's Sake.*

FIRST, we believe and confess in baptism, to forsake the devil and all his works, the pomps and vanities of the wicked world, and all the sinful lusts of the flesh.

* This Master Higbed and Master Causton, two worshipful gentlemen in the county of Essex, the one at Horndon of the Hill, the other of the parish of Thundurst, being zealous and religious in a true service of God, as they could not dissemble with the Lord their God, nor flatter with the world, so in time of blind superstition and wretched idolatry, they could not long lie hid and obscure in such a number of malignant adversaries, accusers, and servants of this world, but at length they were perceived and detected to the foresaid Edmund Bonner, Bishop of London. By reason whereof, by commandment they were committed to the officers of Colchester, to be safely kept, and with them also a servant of Thomas Causton, who in this praise of Christian godliness was nothing inferior to his master.

Bonner, perceiving these two gentlemen to be of worshipful estate and of great estimation in that country, lest any tumult should arise, came in person to try to reclaim them. But all in vain.

He brought them himself to London, and imprisoned them straitly. They underwent several examinations, and were at length condemned.

When all this was thus ended, they were both delivered to the Sheriffs, and so by them sent to Newgate, where they remained by the space of fourteen days, praised be God, not so much in afflictions, as in consolations.

For the increase whereof they earnestly desired all their good brethren and sisters in Christ to pray that God, for his Son's sake, would go forth with that great mercy which already he had begun in them; so that they might persevere to the end, to the praise of the eternal God, and comfort of all their brethren.

These fourteen days (after their condemnation) once expired,

2. We believe all the articles of our Christian faith.

3. We believe, that we are bound to keep God's holy will and commandments, to walk in the same all the days of our life.

4. We believe, that there are contained in the Lord's supper all things necessary for both soul and body, and that we are taught thereby to pray to our heavenly Father, and no other saint or angel.

5. We believe, that there is a catholic church, even the communion of saints, built upon the foundation of the Prophets and Apostles (as St. Paul saith), Christ being the head corner-stone. For the which church Christ gave himself, to make it to himself a glorious congregation without fault in his sight.

6. We believe, that this church, of herself, and by her own merits, is sinful, and must needs say, "Father, forgive us our sins:" but through Christ and his merits, she is freely forgiven: "for he in his own person (saith St. Paul) hath purged her sins, and made her faultless in his sight."—"Besides whom, there is no Saviour," saith the Prophet: "neither is there salvation," saith St. Peter, "in any other name."

7. We believe, as he is our only Saviour, so he is our only Mediator. For the Apostle St. Paul saith, "There is one God, one Mediator between

they were, the 23d day of this month of March, fetched from Newgate, at four o'clock in the morning, and so led through the city unto Aldgate, where they were delivered unto the Sheriff of Essex, and there being fast bound in a cart, were shortly after brought to their several appointed places of burning: that is to say, Thomas Higbed to Horndon on the Hill, and Thomas Caus-ton to Rayleigh, both in the county of Essex, where they did most constantly, the 26th day of the same month, seal their faith with shedding of their blood by most cruel fire, to the glory of God and great rejoicing of the godly.—*For*, iii. 198.

God and man, even the man Jesus Christ." Wherefore, seeing none hath this name, God and man, but Jesus Christ, therefore there is no Mediator, but Jesus Christ.

8. We believe, that this church of Christ is and hath been persecuted, by the words of Christ, saying, "As they have persecuted me, so shall they persecute you: for the disciple is not above his master."—"For it is not only given unto you to believe in Christ," saith St. Paul, "but also to suffer for his sake. For all that will live godly in Christ Jesus must suffer persecution."

9. We believe, that the church of Christ teacheth the word of God truly and sincerely, putting nothing to, nor taking any thing from it: and also doth minister the sacraments, according to the primitive church.

10. We believe, that this church of Christ suffereth all men to read the Scriptures, according to Christ's commandment, saying, Search the Scriptures; for they testify of me. We read also out of the Acts, that when St. Paul preached, the audience daily searched the Scriptures, whether he preached truly or no. Also the Prophet David teacheth all men to pray with understanding: "For how shall the unlearned," saith St. Paul, "say, Amen, at the giving of thanks, when they understand not what is said?" And what is more allowed than true faith, which St. Paul saith cometh by hearing of the word of God?

11. We believe, that the church of Christ teacheth, that God ought to be worshipped according to his word, and not after the doctrine of men: "For in vain," saith Christ, "ye worship me, teaching nothing but the doctrine of men."

Also we are commanded of God by his Prophet, saying, "Walk not in the traditions and precepts of

your elders : but walk," saith he, " in my precepts : do that I command you : put nothing thereunto, neither take any thing from it."—" Likewise," saith Christ, " you shall forsake father and mother, and follow me." Whereby we learn, that if our elders teach otherwise than God commanded, in that point we must forsake them.

12. We believe, that the supper of the Lord ought not to be altered and changed, forasmuch as Christ himself, being the wisdom of the Father, did institute it. For it is written, " Cursed is he that changeth my ordinances, and departeth from my commandments, or taketh any thing from them."

Now we find by the Scriptures, that this holy supper is sore abused :

First, in that it is given in one kind ; whereas Christ gave it in both.

Secondly, in that it is made a private mass ; whereas Christ made it a communion : for he gave it not to one alone, but to all the Apostles, in the name of the whole church.

Thirdly, in that it is made a sacrifice for the quick and the dead ; whereas Christ ordained it for a remembrance of the everlasting sacrifice, which was his own body offered upon the altar of the cross once for all, as the holy Apostle saith ; even the full and perfect price of our redemption : " And where there is remission of sin (saith he) there is no more sacrifice for sin."

Fourthly, in that it is worshipped contrary to the commandment, saying, " Thou shalt worship nothing, that is made with hands."

Fifthly, in that it is given in an unknown tongue, whereby the people are ignorant of the right use thereof, how Christ died for our sins, and rose again for our justification, by whom we be set at peace with God, and received to his favour and mercy by

his promise, whereof this sacrament is a sure seal and witness.

Besides this, it is hanged up, and shut in a box; yea, many times so long, that worms breed in it, and so it is putrefied: whereby the rude people have an occasion to speak unreverently thereof, which otherwise would speak reverently.

Therefore they, that thus abuse it, bring up the slander, and not we, which pray daily to God to restore it to the right use, according to Christ's institution.

Now concerning Christ's words, "This is my body," we deny them not; but we say, that the mind of Christ in them must be searched out by other open Scriptures, whereby we may come to the spiritual understanding of them, which shall be most to the glory of God: for, as the holy Apostle saith, "There is no Scripture, that hath any private interpretation." Besides this, the Scriptures are full of the like figurative speeches: as for example, Christ saith, "This cup is the New Testament in my blood."—"The rock is Christ," saith St. Paul. "Whosoever receiveth a child in my name," saith our Saviour Jesus Christ, "receiveth me."

Which sentences must not be understood after the letter, lest we do err, as the Capernaïtes did, which thought that Christ's body should have been eaten with their teeth, when he spake of the eating thereof. Unto whom Christ said, Such a fleshly eating of my body profiteth nothing: "It is the spirit (saith our Saviour Jesus Christ) that quickeneth; the flesh profiteth nothing: for my words are spirit and life."

Thus we see, that Christ's words must be understood spiritually, and not literally. Therefore he that cometh to this worthy supper of the Lord, must not prepare his jaw, but his heart; neither tooth nor

belly ; “ but believe (saith St. Austin), and thou hast eaten it :” so that we must bring with us a spiritual hunger, and, as the Apostle saith, try and examine ourselves, whether our conscience do testify unto us, that we do truly believe in Christ, according to the Scriptures ; whereof if we truly certify, being new born from our old conversation in heart, mind, will, and deed, then may we boldly with this marriage garment of our faith come to this feast.

In consideration whereof we have invincible Scriptures, as of Christ himself ; This do in remembrance of me. And St. Paul ; “ As often (saith he) as ye eat of this bread, and drink of this cup, ye shall remember the Lord’s death until he come.” Here is no change, but bread still. And St. Luke affirmeth the same. Also Christ hath made a just promise, saying, “ Me you shall not have always with you ; I leave the world, and go to my Father : for if I should not depart, the Comforter, which I shall send, cannot come unto you.” So, according to this promise, he is ascended, as the Evangelists testify. Also St. Peter saith, “ that heaven shall keep him until the last day also.”

Now, as touching his omnipotent power, we confess and say with St. Austin, that “ Christ is both God and man. In that he is God, he is every where ; but in that he is man, he is in heaven, and can occupy but one place :” whereunto the Scriptures do agree. For his body was not in all places at once when he was here ; for it was not in the grave, when the women sought it, as the angel saith ; neither was it at Bethany, where Lazarus died, by Christ’s own words, saying, “ I am glad I was not there.” And thus we conclude with the Scriptures, that Christ is in his holy supper sacramentally and spiritually in all them that worthily receive it, and corporally in heaven both God and man.

And further, we make here our protestation be-

fore God (whom we call to record in this matter), that this which we have said is neither of stubbornness, nor wilful mind, as some judge of us; but even of very conscience, truly (we trust) grounded on God's holy word. For before we took this matter in hand, we besought God from the bottom of our hearts, that we might do nothing contrary to his holy and blessed word. And in that he hath thus shewed his power in our weakness, we cannot worthily praise him, unto whom we give hearty thanks, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

THOMAS CAUSTON.

THOMAS HIGBED.

A
CONFESSION OF FAITH,

WRITTEN ON THE DAY BEFORE HE WAS BURNED,

On the 30th of May, 1555,

BY

JOHN WARNE *,

CITIZEN OF LONDON.

(*From Fox, Vol. III. P. 249.*)

*“ I believe in God the Father Almighty, and Maker
of heaven and earth.”*

A FATHER, because he is the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who is the everlasting Word, whom before all worlds he hath begotten of himself; which Word was made flesh, and therein also manifested to be his Son; in whom he hath adopted us to be his children, the inheritors of his kingdom, and there-

* John Warne was burnt at the same stake with the Rev. Mr. Cardmaker, an eminent reformer. All endeavours to persuade him to recant being in vain, sentence was pronounced against him. “ On the day appointed for their execution, John Cardmaker with the said John Warne were brought by the sheriffs to the place, where they should suffer. Who being come to the stake, first the sheriffs called Cardmaker aside, and talked with him secretly, so long, that in the mean time Warne had made his prayers, was chained to the stake, and had wood and reeds set about him, so that nothing wanted but the string: but still abode Cardmaker talking with the sheriffs.

“ The people, which before had heard that Cardmaker would recant on beholding this manner of doing, were in a marvellous dump and sadness, thinking indeed that Cardmaker should now recant at the burning of Warne. At length Cardmaker departed from the sheriffs, and came towards the stake, and (in his garments, as he was) kneeled down and made a long prayer in silence to himself, yet the people confirmed themselves in their

For he is our Father. An Almighty God, because he hath of nothing created all things, visible and invisible, both in heaven and in earth, even all creatures contained therein, and governeth them.

“ And in Jesus Christ, his only Son, our Lord.”

The eternal Word, perfect God with his Father, of equal power in all things, of the same substance, of like glory, by whom all things were made, and have life, and without whom nothing liveth. He was made also perfect man, and so, being very God and very man in one person, is the only Saviour, Redeemer, and Ransomer of them, that were lost in Adam our forefather. He is the only mean of our deliverance, the hope of our health, the surety of our salvation.

“ Which was conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary.”

According to the Father's most merciful promise, this eternal Son of God, forsaking the heavenly

phantasy of recanting, seeing him in his garments, praying secretly, and no semblance of any burning.

“ His prayer being ended, he rose up, put off his clothes unto his shirt, went with bold courage to the stake, and kissed it sweetly. He took Warne by the hand, and comforted him heartily, and so gave himself to be also bound to the stake most gladly.

“ The people, seeing this so suddenly done, contrary to their fearful expectation, as men delivered out of a great doubt, cried out for joy (with so great a shout as hath not lightly been heard a greater), saying, ‘ God be praised ! the Lord strengthen thee ! ‘ Cardmaker, the Lord Jesus receive thy spirit ! ‘ And this continued while the executioner put fire to them, and they both passed through the fire to the blessed rest and peace among God's holy saints and martyrs, to enjoy the crown of triumph and victory prepared for the elect soldiers and warriors of Christ Jesus in his blessed kingdom. To whom be glory and majesty for ever.—Amen.” *Fox, iii. 246, 248.*

glory, humbled him to take flesh of a virgin, according to the Scriptures, uniting the substance of the Godhead to the substance of the manhood, which he took of the substance of that blessed Virgin Mary, in one person, to become therein the very Messiah ; the anointed King and Priest, for ever appointed to pacify the Father's wrath, which was justly gone out against us all for our sin.

“ Suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead, and buried, and descended into hell.”

He was arraigned before Pontius Pilate, the ruler of Jewry, and so unjustly accused of many crimes, that the ruler judged him innocent, and sought means to deliver him ; but contrary to known justice, he did let go Barabbas, which had deserved death, and delivered Christ to be crucified, who deserved no death : which doth declare unto us manifestly, that he suffered for our sins, and was buffeted for our offences, as the Prophets do witness, thereby to have it manifested to all men, that he is that Lamb of God that taketh away the sins of the world. Therefore, suffering for our sins, he received and did bear our deserved condemnation, the pains of death, the taste of abjection, the very terror of hell, yielding his spirit to his Father, his body to be buried in earth.

“ The third day he rose again from death to life.”

To make full and perfect the whole work of our redemption and justification, the same crucified body which was laid in the grave, was raised up again the third day from death, by the power of his Father, and glory of his Godhead : he became the first fruits of the resurrection, and got the victory of death, that all by him might be raised up from death. Through whom all true penitent sinners may now

boldly come unto the Father, and have remission of their sins.

“ He ascended into heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of God the Father Almighty.”

After that in his death and resurrection he had conquered sin, death, and the devil, and had been conversant forty days in the earth, being seen of the Apostles, and more than five hundred brethren at once, in the same body, in which he wrought the work of our salvation, he ascended into heaven with eternal triumph, for the victory over death, sin, hell ; leaving the passage open, by which all true believers may and shall enter into his kingdom, where he now sitteth at his Father's right hand, that is to say, in power and glory equal, in majesty co-eternal.

“ From thence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead.”

He shall appear again in great glory to receive his elect unto himself, and to put his enemies under his feet, changing all living men in a moment, and raising up all that be dead, that all may be brought to his judgment. In this shall he give each man according to his deeds. They, which have followed him in regeneration, which have their sins washed away in his blood, and are clothed with his righteousness, shall receive the everlasting kingdom, and reign with him for ever ; and they, which, after the race of the corrupt generation of Adam, have followed flesh and blood, shall receive everlasting damnation with the devil and his angels.

“ I believe in the Holy Ghost.”

I do believe, that the Holy Ghost is God, the third person in Trinity, in unity of the Godhead equal

with the Father and the Son, given through Christ to inhabit our spirits ; by which we are made to feel and understand the great power, virtue, and loving kindness of Christ, our Lord. For he illumineth, quickeneth and certifieth our spirit, that by him we are sealed up unto the day of redemption, by whom we are renegerate and made new creatures, so that by him and through him we do receive all the abundant goodness promised us in Jesus Christ.

“ The holy catholic church.”

This is an holy number of Adam’s posterity, elected, gathered, washed, and purified by the blood of the Lamb from the beginning of the world, and is dispersed through the same by the tyranny of Gog and Magog ; that is to say, the Turk and his tyranny, and Antichrist, otherwise named the bishop of Rome, and his angels, as this day also doth teach.

“ The communion of saints.”

Which most holy congregation (being, as Paul teacheth, “ builded upon the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, Christ being the head corner-stone”), though it be, by the tyranny of Satan and his ministers, persecuted, some by imprisonment, some by death, and some by other afflictions and painful torments : yet doth it remain in one perfect unity, both in faith and fellowship : which unity is knit in an unspeakable knot, as well of them which are departed from this mortal life, as of them which now be living, and hereafter shall be in the same, and so shall continue until they all do meet in the kingdom, where the head Jesus Christ with all his holy members (of which member through Christ I assuredly believe, that I am one), shall be fully complete, knit, and united together for evermore.

“ The forgiveness of sins.”

I do believe, that my sins, and all their sins, which do rightly believe the holy Scripture, are forgiven only through that Jesus Christ, of whom only I do profess, that I have my whole and full salvation and redemption ; which, Saint Paul saith, cometh not “ through our works and deservings, but freely by grace, lest any should boast himself.” Through the blood of his cross, all things in heaven and earth are reconciled, and set at peace with the Father ; without him no heavenly life given, nor sin forgiven.

“ The resurrection of the body.”

I do believe, that by the same, my Saviour Christ, I and all men shall rise again from death ; for he, as Saint Paul saith, “ is risen again from the dead, and is become the first fruits of them which sleep. For by a man came death, and by a man cometh the resurrection from death.” This man is Christ, through the power of whose resurrection I believe, that we all shall rise again in these our bodies ; the elect, clothed with immortality, to live with Christ for ever ; the reprobate also shall rise immortal, to live with the devil and his angels in death everlasting.

“ And the life everlasting.”

Through the same Jesus, and by none other, I am sure to have life everlasting. He only is the way and entrance into the kingdom of heaven. “ For so God loved the world, that he did give his only Son, Jesus Christ, to the end that so many as do believe in him might have everlasting life.” The which I am sure to possess, so soon as I am dissolved, and departed out of this tabernacle, and in the last day shall both body and soul possess the same for ever ; to the which God grant all men to come.

I believe, that the sacraments, that is to say, of baptism and of the Lord's supper, are seals of God's most merciful promises towards mankind. In baptism, as by the outward creature of water, I am washed from the filthiness, which hangeth on my flesh ; so do I assuredly believe, that I am by Christ's blood washed clean from my sins, through which I have sure confidence of my certain salvation. In the partaking of the Lord's supper, as I receive the substance of bread and wine (the nature of which is to strengthen the body), so do I by faith receive the redemption wrought in Christ's body broken on the cross, life by his death, resurrection by his resurrection ; and in sum, all that ever Christ in his body suffered for my salvation, to the strengthening of my faith in the same. And I believe, that God hath appointed the eating and drinking of the creatures of bread and wine in his holy supper, according to his word, to move and to stir up my mind to believe these articles above written.

This is my faith, this do I believe ; and I am content by God's grace to confirm and seal the truth of the same with my blood.

By me,

JOHN WARNE.

THE
LIFE,
EXAMINATIONS,
AND
SELECTIONS FROM THE WRITINGS
OF
THE REV. JOHN PHILPOT, A. M.
ARCHDEACON OF WINCHESTER,
AND MARTYR.

THE
PROCESS AND HISTORY
OF
MASTER JOHN PHILPOT,

Examined, condemned, and martyred, for the Maintenance and Defence of the Gospel's Cause, against the antichristian See of Rome.

(From Fox, Vol. III. P. 538.)

NEXT followeth the constant martyrdom of Master John Philpot, of whom partly ye have heard before in the beginning of Queen Mary's time, in prosecuting the disputation of the convocation-house *.

He was of a worshipful house, a knight's son, born in Hampshire, brought up in the New College in Oxford, where he studied the civil law the space of six or seven years, besides the other liberal arts, especially that of the tongues, wherein very forwardly he profited, namely, in the knowledge of the Hebrew tongue, &c. In wit, he was pregnant and happy, of a singular courage, in spirit fervent, in religion zealous, and also well practised and exercised in the same (which is no small matter in a true divine); of nature and condition plain and apert, far from all flattery, farther from all hypocrisy and deceitful dissimulation. What his learning

* For a full account of the very active and faithful part which Archdeacon Philpot took in the convocation of which he was a member at the beginning of Queen Mary's reign, see Fox, iii. p. 19 & seq.—(Ed.)

was, his own examinations, penned of his own hand, can declare.

From Oxford, desirous to see other countries, as occasion served thereunto, he went over into Italy, and places thereabouts, where he, coming upon a time from Venice to Padua, was in danger through a certain Franciscan friar, accompanying him in his journey; who coming to Padua, sought to accuse him of heresy. At length returning into England his country again, as the time ministered more boldness to him in the days of King Edward, he had divers conflicts with Gardiner the Bishop in the city of Winchester, as appeareth by divers of Winchester's letters, and his examination. Whereof read before. (Vol. II.)

After that, having an advowson by the said Bishop, he was made there Archdeacon of Winchester, under Doctor Poynt, who then succeeded Gardiner in that bishopric. Thus during the time of King Edward, he continued to no small profit to the parts thereabouts. When that blessed king was taken away, and Mary his sister came in place, whose study was wholly bent to alter the state of religion in the woful realm of England, first she caused a convocation of the prelates and learned men to be congregated for the accomplishment of her desire.

In the which convocation, Master Philpot, being present according to his room and degree, with a few others sustained the cause of the Gospel manfully against the adversary part, for the which cause, notwithstanding the liberty of the house promised before, he was called to account before Bishop Gardiner the Chancellor, then being his ordinary, by whom he was first examined. From thence again he was removed to Bonner and other commissioners, with whom he had divers and sundry conflicts, as in his examinations here following may appear.

The first Examination of Master JOHN PHILPOT, before the Queen's Commissioners, Master Chismley, Master Roper, and Dr. Story, and one of the Scribes of the Archer, at Newgate Sessions Hall, October 2, 1555: drawn up by himself.

Dr. Story, before I was called into an inner parlour, where they sat, came out into the hall where I was, to view me among others that were there, and passing by me, said, "Ha, Master Philpot:" and in returning immediately again, stayed against me, beholding me, and saying that I was well fed indeed.

Philpot. If I be fat, and in good liking (M. Doctor), it is no marvel, since I have been stalled in prison these twelve months and half, in a close corner. I am come to know your pleasure, wherefore you have sent for me.

Story. We hear, that thou art a suspected person, and of heretical opinions, and therefore we have sent for thee.

Philpot. I have been in prison thus long, only upon the occasion of disputation made in the convocation-house, and upon the suspicion of setting forth the report thereof.

Story. If thou wilt revoke the same, and become an honest man, thou shalt be set at liberty, and do right well; or else thou shalt be committed to the Bishop of London. How sayest thou, wilt thou revoke it or no?

Philpot. I have already answered in this behalf to mine ordinary.

Story. If thou answerest thus, when thou comest before us anon, thou shalt hear more of our minds. And with that he went into the parlour, and I within a little while after was called in.

The Scribe. Sir, what is your name?

Philpot. My name is John Philpot. And so he intituled my name.

Story. This man was Archdeacon of Winchester, of Dr. Poynet's presentment.

Philpot. I was Archdeacon indeed, but none of his presentment, but by virtue of a former advowson, given by my Lord Chancellor, that now is.

Story. Ye may be sure, that my Lord Chancellor would not make any such as he is, Archdeacon.

Roper. Come hither to me, Master Philpot. We hear say, that you are out of the catholic church, and have been a disturber of the same, out of the which whoso is, he cannot be the child of salvation; wherefore, if you will come into the same, you shall be received, and find favour.

Philpot. I am come before your worshipful master-ships, at your appointment, understanding that you are magistrates authorized by the Queen's Majesty, to whom I owe and will do my due obedience to the uttermost: wherefore I desire to know what cause I have offended in, wherefore I am now called before you. And if I cannot be charged with any particular matter done contrary to the law of this realm, I desire your master-ships, that I may have the benefit of a subject, and be delivered out of my long wrongful imprisonment, where I have lain these twelve months and this half, without any calling to answer before now, and my living taken from me without all law.

Roper. Though we have no particular matter to charge you withal; yet we may by our commission and by the law drive you to answer to the suspicion of a slander going on you: and besides this, we have statutes to charge you herein withal.

Philpot. If I have offended any statute, charge me therewithal: and if I have incurred the penalty

thereof, punish me accordingly. And because you are magistrates and executors of the Queen's Majesty's laws, by force whereof you do now sit, I desire, that if I be found no notorious transgressor of any of them, I may not be burdened with more than I have done.

Cholmley. If the justice do suspect a felon, he may examine him upon suspicion thereof, and commit him to prison, though there be no fault done.

Story. I perceive whereabouts this man goeth: he is plain in Cardinaker's case, for he made the self-same allegations. But they will not serve thee, for thou art an heretic, and holdest against the blessed mass: how sayest thou to that?

Philpot. I am no heretic.

Story. I will prove thee an heretic. Whosoever hath holden against the blessed mass, is an heretic: but thou hast holden against the same, therefore thou art an heretic.

Philpot. That which I speak, and which you are able to charge me withal, was in the convocation, where, by the Queen's Majesty's will and her whole council, liberty was given to every man of the house to utter his conscience, and to say his mind freely on such questions in religion as there were propounded by the prolocutor: for the which now I thought not to be molested and imprisoned as I have been, neither now to be compelled of you to answer to the same.

Story. Thou shalt go to the Lollards' Tower, and be handled there, like an heretic as thou art, and answer to the same that thou there didst speak, and be judged by the Bishop of London.

Philpot. I have already been convented of this matter before my Lord Chancellor, mine ordinary, who this long time hath kept me in prison: therefore, if his Lordship will take away my life, as he

hath done my liberty and living, he may ; the which I think he cannot do of his conscience, and therefore hath let me lie thus long in prison : wherefore I am content to abide the end of him herein, that is my ordinary, and do refuse the authority of the Bishop of London, because he is an incompetent judge for me, and not mine ordinary.

Story. But, Sir, thou spakest words in the convocation-house, which is of the Bishop of London's diocese, and therefore thou shalt be carried to the Lollards' Tower, to be judged by him for the words thou spakest in his diocese against the blessed mass.

Philpot. Sir, you know by the law, that I may have *exceptionem fori* ; and it is against all equity, that I should be twice vexed for one cause, and that by such as by the law have nothing to do with me.

Roper. You cannot deny, but that you spake against the mass in the convocation-house.

Story. Dost thou deny that, which thou spakest there, or no ?

Philpot. I cannot deny that I have spoken there, and if by the law you may put me to death therefore, I am here ready to suffer whatsoever I shall be adjudged unto.

The Scribe. This man is fed of vain glory.

Cholmley. Play the wise gentleman, and be conformable, and be not stubborn in your opinions, neither cast yourself away. I would be glad to do you good.

Philpot. I desire you, Sir, with the rest here, that I be not charged further at your hands, than the law chargeth me, for that I have done, since there was no law directly against that, wherewith I am now charged. And you, Master Doctor (of old acquaintance in Oxford), I trust will shew me some friendship, and not extremity.

Story. I tell thee, if thou wouldest be a good ca-

tholic man, I would be thy friend, and spend my gown to do thee good ; but I will be no friend to an heretic, as thou art, but will spend both my gown and my coat, but I will burn thee. How sayest thou to the sacrament of the altar ?

Philpot. Sir, I am not come now to dispute with your mastership : and the time now serveth not thereunto, but to answer to that I may be lawfully charged withal.

Story. Well, since thou wilt not revoke that thou hast done, thou shalt be had into the Lollards' Tower.

Philpot. Sir, since you will needs shew me this extremity, and charge me with my conscience, I do desire to see your commission, whether you have this authority so to do, and after the view thereof I shall (according to my duty) make you further answer, if you may by the virtue thereof burden me with my conscience.

Roper. Let him see the commission : is it here ?

Story. Shall we let every vile person see our commission ?

Cholmley. Let him go from whence he came, and on Thursday he shall see our commission.

Story. No ; let him lie in the mean while in the Lollards' Tower ; for I will sweep the King's Bench and all other prisons also of these heretics ; they shall not have that resort as they have had, to scatter their heresies.

Philpot. You have power to transfer my body from place to place at your pleasure ; but you have no power over my soul. And I pass not whether you commit me, for I cannot be worse treated than I am, kept all day in a close chamber : wherefore it is no marvel, that my flesh is puffed up, wherewithal Master Doctor is offended.

Story. Marshal, take him home with you again.

and see that you bring him again on Thursday, and then we shall rid your fingers of him, and afterwards of your other heretics.

Philpot. God hath appointed a day shortly to come, in the which he will judge us with righteousness, howsoever you judge of us now.

Roper. Be content to be ruled by M. Doctor, and shew yourself a catholic man.

Philpot. Sir, if I should speak otherwise than my conscience is, I should but dissemble with you : and why be you so earnest to have me shew myself a dissembler both to God and you, which I cannot do ?

Roper. We do not require you to dissemble with us, but to be a catholic man.

Philpot. If I do stand in any thing against that, wherein any man is able to burden me with one jot of the Scripture, I shall be content to be counted no catholic man, or an heretic, as you please.

Story. Have we “ Scripture, Scripture ? ” And with that he rose up, saying, “ Who shall be judge, I pray you ? This man is like his fellow Woodman, which the other day would have nothing else but Scripture.” And this is the beginning of this tragedy.

The second Examination of Master PHILPOT before the Queen's Commissioners, Master Cholmley, Roper, Dr. Story, Dr. Cook, and the Scribe, the 24th Day of October 1555, at Newgate Sessions Hall.

At my coming, a man of Aldgate, of mine acquaintance, said unto me, “ God have mercy on you, for you are already condemned in this world ; for D. Story said, that my Lord Chancellor had commanded to do you away.” After a little consultation had between them, M. Cholmley called me unto him, saying,

Cholmley. Master Philpot, shew yourself a wise man, and be not stubborn in your own opinion, but be conformable to the Queen's proceedings, and live, and you shall be well assured of great favour and reputation.

Philpot. I shall do as it becometh a Christian man to do.

Story. This man is the rankest heretic that hath been in all my Lord Chancellor's diocese, and hath done more hurt than any man else there: and therefore his pleasure is, that he should have the law to proceed against him; and I have spoken with my Lord herein, and he willeth him to be committed to the Bishop of London, and there to recant or else burn. He howled and wept in the convocation-house, and made such ado, as never man did, as all the heretics do, when they lack learning to answer. He shall go after his fellows. How sayest thou, wilt thou recant?

Philpot. I know nothing I have done that I ought to recant.

Story. Well, then I pray you let us commit him to the Lollards' Tower, there to remain until he be further examined before the Bishop of London: for he is too fine fed in the King's Bench, and he hath too much favour there. For his keeper said at the door yesterday, that he was the finest fellow, and one of the best learned in England.—And with this he rose up and went his way.

Cook. This man hath most stoutly maintained heresies, since the Queen's coming in, above all that I have heard of; therefore it is most meet he should be adjudged by the Bishop of London, for the heresy he hath maintained.

Philpot. I have maintained no heresies.

Cook. Did ye not openly speak against the sa-

crament of the altar in the convocation-house? Call you that no heresy? Wilt thou recant that, or not?

Philpot. It was the Queen's Majesty's pleasure that we should reason thereof, not by my seeking, but by other men's procuring, in the hearing of the council.

Cook. Did the Queen give you leave to be a heretic? You may be sure Her Grace will not do so. Well, we will not dispute the matter with you; my Lord of London shall proceed by inquisition upon thee, and if thou wilt not recant, thou shalt be burned.

Philpot. My Lord of London is not mine ordinary in this behalf, and I have already answered unto mine ordinary in this matter: and therefore (as I have said before) you shall do me great wrong, to vex me twice for one matter, since I have sustained this long imprisonment, besides the loss of my living.

Roper. You were a very unmeet man to be an archdeacon.

Philpot. I know I was as meet a man as he that hath it now.

Cook. A meek man, quoth he? He troubled Master Roper and the whole country.

Philpot. There was never poor archdeacon so handled at your hands as I am, and that without any just cause ye be able to lay unto me.

Cook. Thou art no archdeacon.

Philpot. I am archdeacon still, although another be in possession of my living; for I was never deprived by any law.

Cook. No, Sir, that needeth not: for a notorious heretic should have no ordinary proceeding about his deprivation: but the Bishop may upon knowledge thereof proceed to deprivation.

Philpot. Master Doctor, you know that the common law is otherwise : and besides this, the statutes of this realm be otherwise, which give this benefit to every person, though he be an heretic, to enjoy his living until he be put to death for the same.

Cholmley. No, there thou art deceived.

Philpot. Upon the living I pass not. But the unjust dealing grieveth me, that I should be thus troubled for my conscience, contrary to all law.

Cholmley. Why will not you agree that the Queen's Majesty may cause you to be examined of your faith?

Philpot. Ask your master, D. Cook, and he will tell you that the temporal magistrates have nothing to do with matters of faith, for determination thereof. And St. Ambrose saith, that " the things of God are not subject to the power and authority of princes."

Cook. No? May not the temporal power commit you, to be examined of your faith, to the Bishop?

Philpot. Yea, Sir, I deny not that ; but you will not grant, that the same may examine any of their own authority.

Cook. Let him be had away.

Philpot. Your mastership promised me the last time I was before you, I should see your commission, by what authority you do call me, and whether I by the same be bound by the answer to so much as you demand.

Roper. Let him see the commission.

The Scribe. Then he exhibited it to Master Roper, and was about to open the same.

Cook. No, what will ye do? He shall not see it.

Philpot. Then do you me wrong, to call me and vex me, not shewing your authority in this behalf.

Cook. If we do you wrong, complain on us ;

and in the mean while thou shalt lie in the Lollards' Tower.

Philpot. I am a poor gentleman; therefore I trust, of your gentleness, you will not commit me to so vile and strait a place, being found no heinous trespasser.

Cook. Thou art no gentleman.

Philpot. Yes, that I am.

Cook. An heretic is no gentleman; for he is a gentleman that hath gentle conditions.

Philpot. The offence cannot take away the state of a gentleman as long as he liveth, although he were a traitor: but I mean not to boast of my gentlemanship, but I will put it under my foot, since you do no more esteem it.

Story. What, will you suffer this heretic to prate with you all this day?

Cook. He saith he is a gentleman.

Story. A gentleman, quoth he? He is a vile heretic knave: for an heretic is no gentleman. Let the keeper of the Lollards' Tower come in and have him away.

The Keeper. Here, Sir.

Story. Take this man with you to the Lollards' Tower, or else to the Bishop's coal-house.

Philpot. Sir, if I were a dog, you could not appoint me a worse and more vile place: but I must be content with whatsoever injury you do offer me. God give you a more merciful heart; you are very cruel upon one that had never offended you. I pray you, Master Cholmley, shew me some friendship, that I be not carried to so vile a place. And he called me aside, and said:

Cholmley. I am not skilful of their doings, neither of their laws; I cannot tell what they mean. I would I could do you good.

Philpot. I am content to go where you will have me. There was never man more cruelly handled than I am at your hands, that, without just cause known, should thus be entreated.

Story. Shall we suffer this heretic thus to reprove us? Have him hence.

Philpot. God forgive you, and give you merciful hearts, and shew you more mercy in the time of need: "Do quickly that you have in hand."

Story. Do you not hear how he maketh us Judases?

Philpot. That is after your own understanding.

After this, I, with four other more, was brought to the keeper's house in Paternoster Row, where we supped, and after supper I was called up to a chamber by the archdeacon of London's servant, and that in his master's name, who offered me a bed for that night. To whom I gave thanks, saying, that it should be a grief to me to lie well one night, and the next worse: wherefore I will begin (said I) as I am like to continue, to take such part as my fellows do. And with that we were brought through Paternoster Row to my Lord of London's coal-house; unto the which is joined a little blind house, with a great pair of stocks appointed both for hand and foot. But, thanks be to God, we have not played of those organs yet, although some before us have tried them.

And there we found a minister of Essex, a married priest, a man of godly zeal, with one other poor man. And this minister (at my coming) desired to speak with me, and did greatly lament his own infirmity, for that through extremity of imprisonment he was constrained by writing to yield to the Bishop of London: whereupon he was once set at liberty, and afterwards felt such a hell in his conscience, that he could scarce refrain from destroying himself, and

never could be at quiet, until he had gone unto the Bishop's register, desiring to see his bill again, the which as soon as he had received, he tore it in pieces; and after he was as joyful as any man might be. Of the which when my Lord of London had understanding, he sent for him, and fell upon him like a lion, and, like a manly bishop, buffeted him well, so that he made his face black and blue, and plucked away a great piece of his beard: but now, thanks be to God, he is as joyful under the cross as any of us, and very sorry of his former infirmity. I write this, because I would all men to take heed, how they do contrary to their conscience: which is to fall into the pains of hell. And here an end for the present.

The Manner of my Calling first before the Bishop of London, the second Night of mine Imprisonment in his Coal-house.

The Bishop sent unto me Master Johnson, his register, with a mess of meat and a good pot of drink, and bread, saying, that my Lord had no knowledge before of my being here, for which he was sorry: therefore he had sent me and my fellows that meat, knowing whether I would receive the same.

I thanked God for my Lord's charity, that it pleased him to remember poor prisoners, desiring Almighty God to increase the same in him and in all others; and therefore I would not refuse his beneficence, and therewith took the same unto my brethren, praising God for his providence towards his afflicted flock, that he stirred our adversaries up to help the same in their necessity.

Johnson. My Lord would know the cause of your sending hither (for he knoweth nothing hereof), and

wondereth that he should be troubled with prisoners of other dioceses than his own.

Philpot. I declared unto him the whole cause. After the which, he said, my Lord's will was, that I should have any friendship I would desire, and so departed.

Within a while after, one of my Lord's gentlemen cometh for me, and I was brought into his presence, where he sat at a table alone, with three or four of his chaplains waiting upon him, and his register.

Bonner. Master Philpot, you are welcome; give me your hand.

Philpot. With that, because he so gently put forth his hand, I, to render courtesy for courtesy, kissed my hand, and gave him the same.

Bonner. I am right sorry for your trouble, and I promise you before it was within these two hours, I knew not of your being here. I pray you, tell me what was the cause of your sending hither, for I promise you, I know nothing thereof as yet, neither would I, you should think, that I was the cause thereof: and I marvel that other men will trouble me with their matters, but I must be obedient to my betters, and, I wis, men speak otherwise of me than I deserve.

Philpot. I shewed him the sum of the matter: that it was for the disputation in the convocation-house, for the which I was against all right molested.

Bonner. I marvel, that you should be troubled therefore, if there was none other cause, but this. But peradventure you have maintained the same since, and some of your friends of late have asked whether you do stand to the same, and you have said, yea, and for this you might be committed to prison.

Philpot. If it shall please Your Lordship, I am

burdened none otherwise, than I have told you, by the commissioners, who sent me hither, because I would not recant the same.

Bonner. A man may speak in the Parliament-house, though it be a place of free speech, so as he may be imprisoned for it; as in case he may speak words of high treason against the King or Queen; and so it may be, that you spake otherwise than it became you of the church of Christ.

Philpot. I spake nothing, which was out of the articles which were called in question, and agreed upon to be disputed by the whole house, and by the Queen's permission and the council.

Bonner. Why, may we dispute of our faith?

Philpot. Yea, that we may.

Bonner. Nay, I trow not by the law.

Philpot. Indeed by the civil law I know it is not lawful, but by God's law we may reason thereof. For Saint Peter saith, "Be ye ready to render account unto all men of that hope which is in you; that demand you of the same."

Bonner. Indeed Saint Peter saith so. Why, then I ask of you what your judgment is of the sacrament of the altar?

Philpot. My Lord, Saint Ambrose saith, that the disputation of faith ought to be in the congregation, in the hearing of the people, and that I am not bound to render an account thereof to every man privately, unless it be to edify. But now I cannot shew you my mind, but I must run upon the pikes in danger of my life therefore. Wherefore as the said Doctor said unto Valentinian the Emperor; so say I to your Lordship; *Tolle legem, fiat certamen*, take away the law, and I shall reason with you. And yet, if I come in open judgment, where I am bound by the law to answer, I trust I shall utter my conscience as freely as any that hath come before you.

Bonner. I perceive you are learned ; I would have such, as you are, about me. But you must come and be of the church ; for there is but one church.

Philpot. God forbid, that I should be out of the church ; I am sure I am within the same : for I know, as I am taught by the Scripture, that there is but one catholic church, one dove, one spouse, one beloved congregation, out of the which there is no salvation.

Bonner. How chanceth it then, that you go out of the same, and walk not with us ?

Philpot. My Lord, I am sure I am within the bounds of the church whereupon she is builded, which is the word of God.

Bonner. What age are ye of ?

Philpot. I am four-and-forty.

Bonner. You are not now of the same faith your godfather and godmothers promised for you, in the which you were baptized.

Philpot. Yes, that, I thank God, I am : for I was baptized into the faith of Christ, which now I hold.

Bonner. How can that be ? there is but one faith.

Philpot. I am assured of that by Saint Paul, saying, " There is but one God, one faith, and one baptism," of the which I am.

Bonner. You were, twenty years ago, of a different faith than you be now.

Philpot. Indeed, my Lord, to tell you plain, I was then *nullius fidei*, of no faith, a neuter, a wicked liver, neither hot nor cold.

Bonner. Why, do you not think that we have the true faith ?

Philpot. I desire your Lordship to hold me excused for answering at this time. I am sure, that God's word thoroughly with the primitive church, and

all the ancient writers, do agree with this faith I am of.

Bonner. Well, I promise you I mean you no more hurt, than to mine own person: I will not, therefore, burden your conscience as now. I marvel that you are so merry in prison, as you be, singing and rejoicing, as the Prophet saith, *exultantes in rebus pessimis*, rejoicing in your naughtiness. Methinketh you do not well herein; you should rather lament and be sorry.

Philpot. My Lord, the mirth that we make, is but in singing certain psalms, according as we are commanded by Saint Paul, willing us to be merry in the Lord, "singing together in hymns and psalms;" and, I trust, your Lordship cannot be displeased with that.

Bonner. We may say unto you, as Christ said in the Gospel, *tibiis cecinisti vobis, et non planxistis*.

Philpot. Here my Lord stumbled, and could not bring forth the text, and required his chaplains to help, and to put him in remembrance of the text better: but they were mum; and I recited out the text unto him, which made nothing to his purpose, unless he would have us to mourn, because they, if they laugh, sing still sorrowful things unto us, threatening faggots and fire.

We are, my Lord, in a dark, comfortless place, and therefore it behoveth us to be merry, lest, as Solomon saith, sorrowfulness eat up our hearts. Therefore I trust your Lordship will not be angry for our singing of psalms, since Saint Paul saith; If any man be of an upright mind, let him sing. And we therefore, to testify that we are of an upright mind to God (though we be in misery), do sing.

Bonner. I will trouble you no further, as now. If I can do you any good, I will be glad to do it for you. God be with you, good Master Philpot, and

give you a good night. Have him to the cellar, and let him drink a cup of wine.

Thus I departed, and by my Lord's register I was brought to his cellar door, where I drank a good cup of wine. And my Lord's chaplain, Master Cousin, followed me, taking acquaintance, saying, that I was welcome, and wished that I would not be singular.

Philpot. I am well taught the contrary by Solomon, saying, "Woe be to him that is alone." After that I was carried to my Lord's coal-house again, where I with my six fellows do rouse together in the straw as cheerfully (we thank God) as others do in their beds of down.

The fourth Examination of Master PHILPOT, in the Archdeacon's House of London, the said Month of October, before the Bishops of London, Bath, Worcester, and Gloucester.

Bonner. Master Philpot, it hath pleased my Lords to take pains here to-day, to dine with my poor Archdeacon, and in the dinner-time it chanceth us to have communication of you, and you were pitied here of many that knew you in the New College in Oxford: and I also do pity your case, because you seem unto me by the talk I had with you the other night, to be learned: and therefore now I have sent for you to come before them, that it might not be said hereafter, that I had so many learned Bishops at my house, and yet would not vouchsafe them to talk with you; and at my request (I thank them) they are content so to do. Now therefore utter your mind freely, and you shall with all favour be satisfied. I am sorry to see you lie in so evil a case as you do, and would fain you should do better, as you may, if you list.

Bath. My Lords here have not sent for you to fawn upon you, but for charity's sake to exhort you to come into the right catholic way of the church.

Worcester. Before he beginneth to speak, it is best that he call to God for grace, and to pray that it might please God to open his heart, that he may conceive the truth.

Philpot. With that I fell down upon my knees before them, and made my prayer on this manner :

Almighty God, which art the giver of all wisdom and understanding, I beseech thee of thine infinite goodness and mercy in Jesus Christ, to give me (most vile sinner) in thy sight the spirit of wisdom to speak and make answer in thy cause, that it may be to the contentation of the hearers, before whom I stand, and also to my better understanding, if I be deceived in any thing.

Bonner. Nay, my Lord of Worcester, you did not well to exhort him to make any prayer. For this is the thing which they have a singular pride in, that they can often make their vain prayers, in the which they glory much. For in this point they are much like to certain arrant heretics, of whom Pliny maketh mention, that did daily sing praise unto God before the dawning of the day.

Philpot. My Lord God make me and all you here present such heretics as those were, that sung these morning hymns : for they were right Christians, with whom the tyrants of the world were offended for their well doing.

Bath. Proceed to that he hath to say. He hath prayed I cannot tell for what.

Bonner. Say on, Master Philpot ; my Lords will gladly hear you.

Philpot. I have, my Lords, been these twelve months and half in prison without any just cause that I know, and my living taken from me without any

lawful order, and now I am brought (contrary to right) from mine own territory and ordinary, into another man's jurisdiction, I know not why. Wherefore, if your Lordships can burden me with any evil done, I stand here before you to purge me of the same. And if no such thing may justly be laid to my charge, I desire to be released of this wrongful trouble.

Bonner. There is none here goeth about to trouble you, but to do you good, if we can. For I promise you, ye were sent hither to me without my knowledge. Therefore speak your conscience without any fear.

Philpot. My Lord, I have learned to answer in this matter of religion in the congregation, being thereunto lawfully called: but now I am not lawfully called, neither is here a just congregation, where I ought to answer.

Bonner. Indeed this man told me the last time I spake with him, that he was a lawyer, and would not utter his conscience in matters of faith, unless it were in the hearing of the people, where he might speak to vain glory.

Philpot. My Lord, I said not I was a lawyer, neither do I arrogate to myself that name, although I was once a novice in the same, where I learned something for mine own defence, when I am called in judgment to answer any cause, and whereby I have been taught, not to put myself further in danger than I need; and so far am I a lawyer, and no farther.

Bath. If you will not answer to my Lord's request, you seem to be a wilful man in your opinion.

Philpot. My Lord of London is not mine ordinary, before whom I am bound to answer in this behalf, as M. Dr. Cole (which is a lawyer) can well tell you by

the law. And I have not offended my Lord of London, wherefore he should call me.

Bonner. Yes, I have to lay to your charge, that you have offended in my diocese by speaking against the blessed sacrament of the altar: and therefore I may call you, and proceed against you to punish you by the law.

Philpot. I have not offended in your diocese: for that which I spake of the sacrament was in Paul's church in the convocation-house, which (as I understand) is a peculiar jurisdiction belonging to the Dean of Paul's, and therefore is counted of your Lordship's diocese, but not in your diocese.

Bonner. Is not St. Paul's church in my diocese? Well I wot, it costeth me a good deal of money by the year the roofing thereof.

Philpot. That may be, and yet be exempted from your Lordship's jurisdiction. And, albeit I had so offended in your diocese, yet I ought by the law to be sent to my ordinary, if I require it, and not to be punished by you that are not mine ordinary. And already (as I have told you) I have been convented of mine ordinary for this cause, which you go about to inquire of me.

Bonner. How say you, Master Dr. Cole, may not I proceed against him by the law, for that he hath done in my diocese?

Cole. Methinketh, Master Philpot needeth not to stand so much with your Lordship in that point, as he doth, since you seek not to hinder him, but to further him: therefore, I think it best that he go to the matter that is laid against him of the convocation, and make no longer delay.

Philpot. I would willingly shew you my mind of the matter, but I am sure it will be laid against me to my prejudice when I come to judgment.

Cole. Why, you may speak by protestation.

Philpot. But what shall my protestation avail in a cause of heresy (as you call it), if I speak otherwise than you will have me, since that which I spake in the convocation-house, being a place privileged, cannot now help me?

Bonner. But, Master Dr. Cole, may not I proceed against him for that offence he hath done in my diocese?

Cole. You may call him before you, my Lord, if he be found in your diocese.

Philpot. But I have by force been brought out of mine own diocese to my Lord's, and require to be judged of mine own ordinary: and therefore I know Master Doctor will not say of his knowledge, that your Lordship ought to proceed against me.—And here Master Doctor would say nothing.

Worcester. Do you not think to find before my Lord here as good equity in your cause as before your own ordinary?

Philpot. I cannot blame my Lord of London's equity, with whom (I thank his Lordship) I have found more gentleness, since I came, than of mine own ordinary (I speak it for no flattery) these twelve months and this half before, who never would call me to answer, as his Lordship hath done now twice. No man is forbid to use his own right due unto him; but I ought not to be forestalled of my right, and therefore I challenge the same for divers other considerations.

Bonner. Now you cannot say hereafter, but that you have been gently communed withal of my Lords here, and yet you be wilful and obstinate in your errors, and in your own opinions, and will not shew any cause why you will not come into the unity of the church with us.

Philpot. My Lords, that I do not declare my

mind, according to your expectation, is (as I have said) because I cannot speak without present danger of my life. But rather than you should report me by this, either obstinate or self-witted without any just ground, whereupon I stand; I will open unto you somewhat of my mind, or rather the whole, desiring your Lordships, which seem to be pillars of the church of England, to satisfy me in the same: and I will refer all other causes in the which I dissent from you, unto one or two articles, or rather to one, which includeth them both; in the which, if I can by the Scriptures be satisfied at your mouths, I shall as willingly agree to you, as any others, in all points.

Bonner. These heretics come always with their "ifs," as this man doth now, saying, "if" he can be satisfied by the Scriptures: so that he will always have this exception, "I am not satisfied;" although the matter be never so plainly proved against him. But will you promise to be satisfied, if my Lords take some pains about you?

Philpot. I say (my Lord) I will be satisfied by the Scriptures in that wherein I stand. And I protest here before God and his eternal Son Jesus Christ, my Saviour, and the Holy Ghost, and his angels, and you here present, that be judges of that I speak, that I do not stand in any opinion of wilfulness or singularity, but only upon my conscience, certainly informed by God's word, from the which I dare not go for fear of damnation: and this is the cause of mine earnestness in this behalf.

Bonner. I will trouble my Lords no longer, seeing that you will not declare your mind.

Philpot. I am about so to do, if it please your Lordship to hear me speak.

Bath. Give him leave, my Lord, to speak that he hath to say.

Philpot. My Lords, it is not unknown to you,

that the chief cause why you do count me, and such as I am, for heretics, is, because we be not at unity with your church. You say, you are of the true church: and we say, we are of the true church. You say, that whosoever is out of your church, is damned: and we think verily, on the other side, that if we depart from the true church, whereon we are grafted in God's word, we should stand in a state of damnation. Wherefore, if your Lordships can bring any better authorities for your church, than we can do for ours; and prove by the Scriptures that the church of Rome now (of the which you are) is the true catholic church, as in all your sermons, writings, and arguments you do uphold; and that all Christian persons ought to be ruled by the same under pain of damnation (as you say); and that the same church (as you pretend) hath authority to interpret the Scriptures, as it seemeth her good; and that all men are bound to follow such interpretations only: I shall be as conformable to the same church, as you may desire me, the which otherwise I dare not: therefore, I require you, for God's sake, to satisfy me in this.

Cole. If you stand upon this point only, you may soon be satisfied, if you list.

Philpot. It is the thing that I require, and to this I have said, I will stand, and refer all other controversies, wherein I stand now against you, and will put my hand thereto, if you mistrust my word.

Bonner. I pray you, Master Philpot, what faith were you of twenty years ago? This man will have every year a new faith.

Philpot. My Lord, I tell you plain, I think I was of no faith: for I was then a wicked liver, and knew not God then, as I ought to do, God forgive me.

Bonner. That is not so. I am sure you were of some faith.

Philpot. My Lord, I have declared to you on my conscience what I then was, and judge of myself. And what is that to the purpose of the thing I desire to be satisfied of you?

Bonner. Master Dr. Cole, I pray you, say your mind to him.

Cole. What will you say, if I can prove that it was decreed by an universal council in Athanasius' time, that all the Christian church should follow the determination of the church of Rome? But I do not now remember where.

Philpot. If you, Master Doctor, can shew me the same granted to the See of Rome by the authority of the Scripture, I will gladly hearken thereto. But, I think, you be not able to shew any such thing: for Athanasius was president of Nicene council, and there was no such thing decreed, I am sure.

Cole. Though it were not then, it might be at another time.

Philpot. I desire to see the proof thereof.—And upon this Master Harpsfield, Chancellor to the Bishop of London, brought in a book of Irenæus, with certain leaves turned in, and laid it before the Bishops to help them in their perplexity, if it might be: the which, after the Bishops of Bath and Gloucester had read together, the Bishop of Gloucester gave me the book.

Gloucester. Take the book, Master Philpot, and look upon that place, and there may you see how the church of Rome is to be followed of all men.

Philpot. I took the book, and read the place: the which, after I had read, I said, it made nothing against me, but against the Arians and other heretics, against whom Irenæus wrote, proving that they were not to be credited, because they did teach and follow after strange doctrine in Europe, and that the chief church of the same was founded by Peter and

Paul, and had to this time continued by faithful succession of the faithful Bishops in preaching the true Gospel, as they had received of the Apostles, and nothing like to the late-sprung heretics, &c. Whereby he concludeth against them, that they were not to be heard, neither to be credited: the which thing if you, my Lord, be able to prove now of the church of Rome, then had you as good authority against me in my cause now, as Irenæus had against those heretics. But the church of Rome hath swerved from the truth and simplicity of the Gospel, which it maintained in Irenæus' time, and was uncorrupted from that which it is now; wherefore, your Lordships cannot justly apply the authority of Irenæus to the church of Rome now, which is so manifestly corrupted from the primitive church.

Bonner. So will you say still, it maketh nothing for the purpose, whatsoever authority we bring, and you will never be satisfied.

Philpot. My Lord, when I do by just reason prove, that the authorities which be brought against me do not make to the purpose (as I have already proved), I trust you will receive mine answer.

Worcester. It is to be proved most manifest by all ancient writers, that the See of Rome hath always followed the truth, and never was deceived, until of late certain heretics had defaced the same.

Philpot. Let that be proved, and I have done.

Worcester. Nay, you are of such arrogance, singularity, and vain glory, that you will not see it, be it never so well proved.

Philpot. Ha, my Lords, is it now time (think you) for me to follow singularity or vain glory, since it is now upon danger of my life and death, not only presently, but also before God to come? And I know, if I die not in the true faith, I shall die everlastingly: and again I know, if I do not as you would have me,

you would kill me and many thousands more: yet had I rather perish at your hands, than to perish eternally. And at this time I have lost all my commodities of this world, and now lie in a coal-house, where a man would not lay a dog, with the which I am well contented.

Cole. Where are you able to prove, that the church of Rome hath erred at any time? And by what history? Certain it is by Eusebius, that the church was established at Rome by Peter and Paul, and that Peter was Bishop twenty-five years at Rome.

Philpot. I know well, that Eusebius so writeth: but if we compare that which St. Paul writeth to the Galatians (chap. i.), the contrary will manifestly appear, that he was not half so long there. He lived not past thirty-three years after he was called to be an Apostle: and Paul maketh mention of his abiding at Jerusalem after Christ's death more than eighteen years.

Cole. What, did Peter write to the Galatians?

Philpot. No: I say Paul maketh mention of Peter, writing to the Galatians, and of his abiding at Jerusalem. And further, I am able to prove, both by Eusebius and other historiographers, that the church of Rome hath manifestly erred, and at this present doth err, because she agreeth not with that, which they wrote. The primitive church did use according to the Gospel, and there needeth none other proof, but compare the one with the other.

Bonner. I may compare this man to a certain man I read of, which fell into a desperation, and went into a wood to hang himself, and when he came there, he went viewing of every tree, and could find none on which he might vouchsafe to hang himself. But I will not apply it as I might. I pray you, Master Doctor, go forth with him.

Cole. My Lord, there be on every side of me that

be better able to answer him, and I love not to fall into disputation : for that now-a-days a man shall but sustain shame and obloquy thereby of the people, I had rather shew my mind in writing.

Philpot. And I had rather, that you should do so than otherwise, for then a man may better judge of your words, than by argument ; and I beseech you so to do. But if I were a rich man, I durst wager an hundred pounds that you shall not be able to shew that you have said, to be decreed by a general council in Athanasius' time. For this I am sure of, that it was concluded by a general council in Africa many years after, that none of Africa (under pain of excommunication) should appeal to Rome : the which decree I am sure they would not have made, if by the Scriptures and by an universal council it had been decreed, that all men should abide and follow the determination of the church of Rome.

Cole. But I can shew, that they revoked that error again.

Philpot. So you say, Master Doctor ; but, I pray you, shew me where. I have hitherto heard nothing of you for my contentation, but bare words without any authority.

Bonner. What, I pray you, ought we to dispute with you of our faith ? Justinian in the law hath a title, *De Fide Catholica*, to the contrary.

Philpot. I am certain, the civil law hath such a constitution : but our faith must not depend upon the civil law. For, as St. Ambrose saith, not the law, but the Gospel (saith he), hath gathered the church together.

Worcester. Master Philpot, you have the spirit of pride, wherewith ye be led, which will not let you to yield to the truth : leave it for shame.

Philpot. Sir, I am sure I have the spirit of faith,

by the which I speak at this present ; neither am I ashamed to stand in my faith.

Glocester. What, do you think yourself better learned than so many notable learned men as be here?

Philpot. Elias alone had the truth, when there were four hundred priests against him.

Worcester. Oh, you would be counted now for Elias. And yet, I tell thee, he was deceived : for he thought there had been none good but himself, and yet he was deceived, for there were seven thousand besides him.

Philpot. Yea, but he was not deceived in doctrine, as the other four hundred were.

Worcester. By my faith, you are greatly to blame, that you cannot be content to be of the church, which ever hath been of that faithful antiquity.

Philpot. My Lord, I know Rome, and have been there, where I saw your Lordship.

Worcester. Indeed I did flee from hence thither, and I remember not that I saw you there. But I am sorry you have been there : for the wickedness you have seen there, peradventure, causeth you to do as you do.

Philpot. No, my Lord, I do not as I do, for that cause : for I am taught otherwise by the Gospel, not altogether to refuse the minister for his evil living, so that he bring sound doctrine out of God's book.

Worcester. Do you think that the universal church may be deceived ?

Philpot. St. Paul to the Thessalonians prophesieth, that there should come an universal departing from the faith in the latter days, before the coming of Christ, saying, Christ shall not come, till there come a departing first.

Cole. Yea, I pray you, how take you the departing there in St. Paul ? It is not meant of faith,

but of the departing from the empire : for it is in Greek.

Philpot. Marry indeed, you, Master Doctor, put me in good remembrance of the meaning of St. Paul in that place ; for *Apostatia* is properly a departing from the faith, and thereof cometh *Apostata*, which properly signifieth one that departeth from his faith : and St. Paul in the same place after speaketh of the decay of the empire.

Cole. *Apostatia* doth not only signify a departing from the faith, but also from the empire, as I am able to shew.

Philpot. I never read it so taken, and when you shall be able to shew it (as you say in words) I will believe it, and not before.

Worcester. I am sorry that you should be against the Christian world.

Philpot. The world commonly, and such as be called Christians (for the multitude), have hated the truth, and been enemies to the same.

Glocester. Why, Master Philpot, do you think that the universal church hath erred, and you only to be in the truth ?

Philpot. The church, that you are of, was never universal : for two parts of the world, which is Asia and Africa, never consented to the supremacy of the Bishop of Rome, as at this day they do not, neither do follow his decrees.

Glocester. Yes, in the Florentine council they did agree.

Philpot. It was said so by false report, after they of Asia and Africa were gone home : but it was not so indeed, as the sequel of them all hitherto doth prove the contrary.

Glocester. I pray you, by whom will you be judged in matters of controversy which happen daily ?

Philpot. By the word of God. For Christ saith

in St. John, the word that he spake shall be judge in the last day.

Glocester. What if you take the word one way, and I another ; who shall be judge then ?

Philpot. The primitive church.

Glocester. I know you mean the doctors, that wrote thereof.

Philpot. I mean verily so.

Glocester. What if you take the doctors in one sense, and I in another ; who shall be judge then ?

Philpot. Then let that be taken which is most agreeable to God's word.

Cole. My Lords, why do you trouble yourselves to answer him in this matter ? It is not the thing that is laid to his charge, but his error of the sacrament ; and he, to shift himself of that, brought in another matter.

Philpot. This is the matter, Master Cole, to the which I have referred all other questions, and desire to be satisfied.

Worcester. It is wonder to see how he standeth with a few against a great multitude.

Philpot. We have almost as many as you. For we have Asia, Africa, Germany, Denmark, and a great part of France, and daily the number of the Gospel doth increase : so that I am credibly informed, that for this religion in the which I stand, and for the which I am like to die, a great multitude do daily come out of France, through persecution, that the cities of Germany be scarce able to receive them : and therefore your Lordships may be sure, the word of God will one day take place, do what you can to the contrary.

Worcester. They were well occupied to bring you such news, and you have been well kept to have such resort unto you. Thou art the arrogantest and stoutest fond fellow that ever I knew.

Philpot. I pray your Lordship to bear with my hasty speech : for it is part of my corrupt nature to speak somewhat hastily : but, for all that, I mean with humility to do my duty to your Lordship.

Bonner. Master Philpot, my Lords will trouble you no further at this time, but you shall go from whence you came, and have such favour as in the mean while I can shew you ; and upon Wednesday next you shall be called again to be heard, what you can say for maintenance of your error.

Philpot. My Lord, my desire is to be satisfied of you in that I have required ; and your Lordship shall find me as I have said.

Worcester. We wish you as well as ourselves.

Philpot. I think the same, my Lords ; but I fear you are deceived, and have a zeal of yourselves, not according to knowledge.

Worcester. God send you more grace.

Philpot. And also God increase the same in you, and open your eyes, that you may see to maintain his truth and his true church.

Then the Bishops rose up and consulted together, and caused a writing to be made, in the which I think my blood by them was bought and sold, and thereunto they put their hands, and after this I was carried to my coal-house again.

The fifth Examination of JOHN PHILPOT, had before the Bishops of London, Rochester, Coventry, St. Asaph, and one other, whose See I know not, Dr. Story, Curton, Dr. Saverson, Dr. Pendleton, with divers other Chaplains and Gentlemen of the Queen's Chamber, and divers other Gentlemen, in the Gallery of my Lord of London's Palace.

Bonner. Master Philpot, come you hither ; I have desired my Lords here, and other learned men, to

take some pains once again, and to do you good : and because I do mind to sit in judgment on you to-morrow (as I am commanded), yet I would you should have as much favour as I can shew you, if you will be any thing conformable. Therefore play the wise man, and be not singular in your own opinion, but be ruled by these learned men.

Philpot. My Lord, in that you say, you will sit on me in judgment to-morrow, I am glad thereof ; for I was promised by them which sent me unto you, that I should have been judged the next day after : but promise hath not been kept with me, to my further grief. I look for none other but death at your hands, and I am as ready to yield my life in Christ's cause, as you be to require it.

Bonner. Lo, what a wilful man is this ! By my faith, it is but folly to reason with him, neither with any of these heretics. I am sorry that you will be no more tractable, and that I am compelled to shew extremity against you.

Philpot. My Lord, you need not to shew extremity against me, except you list : neither by the law (as I have said) have you any thing to do with me, for that you are not mine ordinary, albeit I am (contrary to all right) in your prison.

Bonner. Why, the Queen's commissioners sent you hither unto me upon your examination had before them, I know not well the cause : but I am sure they would not have sent you hither to me, unless you had made some talk to them, otherwise than it becometh a Christian man.

Philpot. My Lord, indeed they sent me hither without any occasion then ministered by me, only they laid unto me the disputation I made in the convocation-house, requiring me to answer the same, and to recant it. The which because I would not do, they sent me hither to your Lordship.

Bonner. Why did you not answer them thereunto?

Philpot. For that they were temporal men, and ought not to be judges in spiritual causes whereof they demanded me, without shewing any authority whereby I was bound to answer them; and hereupon they committed me to your prison.

Bonner. Indeed I remember now, you maintained open heresy in my diocese; wherefore the commissioners sent you unto me, that I should proceed against you, for that you have spoken in my diocese.

Philpot. My Lord, I stand still upon my lawful plea in this behalf; that though it were a great heresy, as you suppose it, yet I ought not to be troubled therefor in respect of the privilege of the Parliament-house, whereof the convocation-house is a member, where all men in matters propounded may frankly speak their mind: and here is present a gentleman of the Queen's Majesty, that was present at the disputation, and can testify the questions, which were then in controversy, were not set forth by me, but by the prolocutor, who required in the Queen's Majesty's name all men to dispute their minds freely in the same, that were of the house.

The Queen's Gentleman. Though the Parliament-house be a place of privilege for men of the house to speak, yet may none speak any treason against the Queen, or maintain treason against the crown.

Philpot. But if there be any matter which otherwise it were treason to speak of, were it treason for any person to speak therein, specially the thing being proposed by the Speaker? I think not.

The Queen's Gentleman. You may make the matter easy enough to you yet, as I perceive, if you will revoke the same, which you did there so stubbornly maintain.

St. Asaph. This man did not speak under re-

formation as many there did, but earnestly and persuasively as ever I heard any.

Philpot. My Lords, since you will not cease to trouble me for that I have lawfully done, neither will admit my just defence for that which was spoken in the convocation-house by me, contrary to the laws and customs of the realm; I appeal to the whole Parliament-house, to be judged by the same, {whether I ought thus to be molested for that I have there spoken.

Rochester. But have you spoken and maintained the same since that time, or no?

Philpot. If any man can charge me justly therewith, here I stand to make answer.

Rochester. How say you to it now? Will you stand to that you have spoken in the convocation-house, and do you think you said then well, or no?

Philpot. My Lord, you are not mine ordinary to proceed officially against me, and therefore I am not bound to tell you my conscience of your demands.

St. Asaph. What say you now? Is there not in the blessed sacrament of the altar (and with that they all put off their caps for reverence of the idol) the presence of our Saviour Christ, really and substantially after the words of consecration?

Philpot. I do believe in the sacrament of Christ's body duly ministered to be such manner of presence, as the word teacheth me to believe.

St. Asaph. I pray you, how is that?

Philpot. As for that I will declare another time, when I shall be lawfully called to dispute my mind of this matter; but I am not yet driven to that point. And the Scripture saith, all things ought to be done after an order.

Another Bishop. This is a froward and vain-glorious man.

Bonner. It is not lawful for a man by the civil laws

to dispute of his faith openly, as it appeareth in the title, *De summa Trinitate & Fide catholica*.

Philpot. My Lord, I have answered you to this question before.

Bonner. Why, I never asked thee of this before now.

Philpot. Yes, that you did at my last examination; by that token I answered your Lordship by St. Ambrose, that the church is congregated by the word, and not by man's laws. Wherefore I add now further of this saying, "That he which refuseth the word, and objecteth the law, is an unjust man, because the just shall live by faith." And moreover (my Lord) the title which your Lordship allegeth out of the law, maketh it not unlawful to dispute of all the articles of the faith, but of the Trinity.

Bonner. Thou liest, it is not so; and I will shew you by the book how ignorant he is.—And with that he went with all haste to his study, and fetched his book, and openly read the text, and the title of the law, and charged me with such words as seemed to make for his purpose, saying, How sayest thou to this?

Philpot. My Lord, I say as I said before, that the law meaneth of the catholic faith, determined in the council of Chalcedonia, where the articles of the creed were only concluded upon.

Bonner. Thou art the veriest beast that ever I heard; I must needs speak it; thou compellest me thereunto.

Philpot. Your Lordship may speak your pleasure of me. But what is this to the purpose, which your Lordship is so earnest in? You know that our faith is not grounded upon the civil law: therefore it is not material to me whatsoever the law saith.

Bonner. By what law wilt thou be judged? Wilt thou be judged by the common law?

Philpot. No, my Lord ; our faith dependeth not upon the laws of man.

St. Asaph. He will be judged by no law, but as he list himself.

Worcester. The common laws are but abstracts of the Scriptures and doctors.

Philpot. Whatsoever you do make them, they are no ground of my faith, by the which I ought to be judged.

Bonner. I must needs proceed against thee to-morrow.

Philpot. If your Lordship so do, I will have *exceptionem fori*, for you are not my competent judge.

Bonner. By what law canst thou refuse me to be thy judge ?

Philpot. By the civil law, *de competente judice*.

Bonner. There is no such title in the law. In what book is it, as cunning a lawyer as you be ?

Philpot. My Lord, I take upon me no great cunning in the law : but you drive me to my shifts for my defence ; and I am sure, if I had the books of the law, I were able to shew you what I say.

Bonner. What ? *De competente judice* ? I will go fetch thee my books. There is a title indeed, *De officiis judicis ordinarii*.

Philpot. Verily, that is the same as *de competente judice*, which I have alleged.—With that he ran to his study, and brought the whole course of the law between his hands, which (as it might appear) he had well occupied, by the dust they were imbrued withal.

Bonner. There be the books : find it now (if thou canst), and I will promise to release thee out of prison.

Philpot. My Lord, I stand not here to reason matters of the civil law, although I am not altogether ignorant of the same ; for that I have been a

student in the law six or seven years : but to answer to the articles of faith with the which you may lawfully burden me. And whereas you go about unlawfully to proceed, I challenge, according to my knowledge, the benefit of the law in my defence.

Bonner. Why, thou wilt answer directly to nothing thou art charged withal : therefore say not hereafter but you might have been satisfied here by learned men, if you would have declared your mind.

Philpot. My Lord, I have declared my mind unto you and to other of the Bishops at my last being with you, desiring you to be satisfied but of one thing, whereunto I have referred all other controversies : the which if your Lordships now, or other learned men can simply resolve me of, I am as contented to be reformable in all things, as you shall require ; the which is to prove that the church of Rome (whereof you are) is the catholic church.

Coventry. Why, do you not believe your creed, *Credo ecclesiam catholicam* ?

Philpot. Yes, that I do : but I cannot understand Rome (wherewithal you burden us) to be the same, neither like to it.

St. Asaph. It is most evident that St. Peter did build the catholic church at Rome. And Christ said, “ Thou art Peter, and on this rock will I build my church.”

Moreover, the succession of Bishops in the See of Rome can be proved from time to time, as it can be of none other place so well, which is a manifest probation of the catholic church, as divers doctors do write.

Philpot. That you would have to be undoubted, is most uncertain, and that by the authority which you allege of Christ, saying unto Peter, “ Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church,” unless you can prove the rock to signify Rome, as you

would make me falsely believe. And although you can prove the succession of Bishops from Peter, yet this is not sufficient to prove Rome the catholic church, unless you can prove the profession of Peter's faith, whereupon the catholic church is builded, to have continued in his successors at Rome, and at this present to remain.

Bonner. Are there any more churches than one catholic church? And I pray you tell me, into what faith were you baptized?

Philpot. I acknowledge one holy catholic and apostolic church, whereof I am a member (I praise God), and am of that catholic faith of Christ, whereinto I was baptized.

Coventry. I pray you, can you tell what this word Catholic doth signify? Shew, if you can.

Philpot. Yes, that I can, I thank God. The catholic faith, or the catholic church, is not as now-a-days the people be taught, to be that which is the most universal, or of most part of men received, whereby you do infer our faith to hang upon the multitude, which is not so: but I esteem the catholic church to be as St. Austin defineth the same: "We judge (saith he) the catholic faith, of that which hath been, is, and shall be." So that if you can be able to prove that your faith and church have been from the beginning taught, and is and shall be; then may you count yourselves catholic, otherwise not. And catholic is a Greek word, compounded of *κατα*, which signifieth "after," or "according;" and *ολον*, "a sum," or "principal," or "whole." So that catholic church, or catholic faith, is as much to say, as the first, whole, sound, or chiefest faith.

Bonner. Doth St. Austin say so as he allegeth it? or doth he mean as he taketh the same? How say you, Master Curtop?

Curtop. Indeed, my Lord, St. Austin hath such

such a saying, speaking against the Donatists, that the catholic faith ought to be esteemed of things in time past, and as they are practised according to the same, and ought to be through all ages, and not after a new manner, as the Donatists began to prove.

Philpot. You have said well, Master Curtop, and after the meaning of St. Austin, and to confirm that which I have said for the signification of "Catholic."

Coventry. Let the book be seen, my Lord.

Bonner. I pray you, my Lord, be content, or in good faith I will break even off, and let all alone. Do you think the catholic church (until it was with in these few years, in the which a few upon singularity have swerved from the same) have erred?

Philpot. I do not think that the catholic church can err in doctrine; but I require you to prove this church of Rome to be the catholic church.

Curtop. I can prove that Irenæus (which was within an hundred years after Christ) came to Victor, then Bishop of Rome, to ask his advice about the excommunication of certain heretics, the which he would not have done (by all likelihood) if he had not taken him to be supreme head.

Coventry. Mark well this argument. How are you able to answer to the same? Answer if you can.

Philpot. It is soon answered, my Lord, for that it is of no force; neither this fact of Irenæus maketh any more for the supremacy of the Bishop of Rome, than mine hath done, which hath been at Rome as well as he, and might have spoken with the Pope if I had list: and yet I would none in England did favour his supremacy more than I.

St. Asaph. You are the more to blame (by the faith of my body), for that you favour the same no better; since all the catholic church (until the

few years) have taken him to be supreme head of the church, besides this good man Irenæus.

Philpot. That is not likely that Irenæus so took him, or the primitive church : for I am able to shew several general councils after Irenæus' time, wherein he was never so taken ; which may be a sufficient proof that the catholic primitive church never took him for supreme head.

The other Bishop. This man will never be satisfied, say what we can. It is but folly to reason any more with him.

Philpot. O, my Lords ! would you have me satisfied with nothing ? Judge, I pray you, who of us hath better authority, he which bringeth the example of one man going to Rome, or I that by these many general councils am able to prove, that he was never so taken in many hundred years after Christ, as by the Nicene, Ephesine, Chalcedonian, Constantinopolitan, Carthaginian, and Aquileian councils.

Coventry. Why will ye not admit the church of Rome to be the catholic church ?

Philpot. Because it followeth not the primitive catholic church, neither agreeth with the same, any more than an apple is like a nut.

Coventry. Wherein doth it dissent ?

Philpot. It were too long to recite all ; but two things I will name : the supremacy, and transubstantiation.

Curtop. As for transubstantiation, albeit it was set forth and decreed for an article of faith not much above 300 years, yet it was always believed in the church.

Bonner. Yea, that it was. Very well said of you, Master Curtop.

Philpot. Ye have said right, that transubstantiation is but a late plantation of the Bishop of Rome,

and you are not able to shew any ancient writer, that the primitive church did believe any such thing.—And with this, Curtop shrank away; and immediately after, the Ambassadors of Spain came in, to whom my Lord of London went, leaving the others with me. To whom I said: My Lords, if you can shew me that this church of Rome (whereof you are members) is the true catholic church, I shall be content to be one thereof, and as conformable to the same, as you can require me in all things; for I know there is no salvation but within the church.

Coventry. Can you disprove that the church of Rome is not the catholic church?

Philpot. Yea, that I am able, but I desire rather to hear of you for the proof thereof. And seeing I cannot have my request at your hands, neither be satisfied with any probable authority, I will shew you good proof why it is not. For if the primitive church were catholic, as it was indeed, and ought to be, the form and schoolmistress of the church to the world's end; then is not the church of Rome now the catholic church, which dissenteth so far from the same both in doctrine and use of the sacraments.

Coventry. How prove you that the church of Rome now dissenteth in doctrine and use of the sacraments from the primitive church?

Philpot. Compare the one with the other, and it shall soon appear; as you may see both in Eusebius and other ecclesiastical and ancient writers.

Coventry. What have you to say more? why is it not the catholic church?

Philpot. Because it is not (by your interpretation of Catholic) universal, neither ever was; albeit you falsely persuade the people that it is so. For the world being divided into three parts, Asia, Africa, and Europe, two parts thereof, Asia

and Africa, professing Christ as well as we, did never consent to the church of Rome, which is of Europe; which is a sufficient testimony that your faith was never universal.

Coventry. How prove you that?

Philpot. All the historiographers, which write of the proceedings of the church, do testify the same. Besides that, this present time doth declare that to be true which I say. For at this present the church of Asia and Africa do not consent to the church of Rome. Yea, and besides all this, most part of Europe doth not agree, neither allow the church of Rome, as Germany, the kingdom of Denmark, the kingdom of Poland, a great part of France, England, and Zealand; which is a manifest probation that your church is not universal.—And after this, the Bishop of London called away the other Bishops, and left with me divers gentlemen, with certain of his chaplains, as Doctor Saverson, an Englishman, which had proceeded doctor in Bononia, who after began with me in this manner:

Doctor Saverson. Master Philpot, I remember you beyond sea, since the time you reasoned with a friar (a notable learned man), coming from Venice to Padua in a barge.

Philpot. I cannot forget that; for the friar threatened me to accuse me of heresy as soon as he came to Padua, for that I talked to him so boldly of the truth. He was no such learned man as you name him to be, but only in his school points a good purgatory friar.

Doctor Saverson. Well, he was a learned man for all that. And I am sorry to hear that you this day, having communed with so many notable learned men, are no more conformable to them than you be.

Philpot. I will be conformable to all them that be

conformable to Christ in his word. And, I pray you, Master Doctor, be not so conformable to please men more than God, contrary to your learning, for worldly estimation sake.

Doctor Saverson. No, that I am not. Upon what occasion should you think thus of me?

Philpot. Upon no evil that I do know of you, Master Doctor; but I speak as one wishing that you should not be led away from the truth for promotion sake, as many doctors be now-a-days.

Doctor Saverson. I have heard your arguments hitherto, and methinketh that a great many of the old ancient writers be against you in that you do not allow the church of Rome, neither the supremacy; for St. Cyprian (which is an old ancient writer) doth allow the Bishop of Rome to be supreme head of the church.

Philpot. That, I am sure, he doth not. For he, writing unto Cornelius, then Bishop of Rome, calleth him but his companion and his fellow-bishop, neither attributeth to him the name of Pope; or else of any usurped terms, which now be ascribed to the Bishop of Rome to the setting forth of his dignity.

Doctor Saverson. You cannot be able to shew that St. Cyprian calleth Cornelius his fellow-bishop.

Philpot. I will wager with you what I am able to make, that I can shew it you in Cyprian, as I have said.

Doctor Saverson. I will lay none other wager with you, but book for book, that it is not so.

Philpot. I agree thereto, and I pray you, one of my Lord's chaplains, to fetch us Cyprian hither for the trial hereof.—And with that, one of them went to my Lord's study, and brought forth Cyprian; and by and by he turned to the first book of his epistles, the third epistle, and there would have seemed to

have gathered a strong argument for the supremacy of the Bishop of Rome, because he saith: "It goeth not well with the church when the high priest is not obeyed, which supplieth the stead of Christ after God's word, and the consent of his fellow-bishops, and the agreement of the people."

Doctor Saverson. How can you avoid this place which maketh so plainly for the Bishop of Rome's supremacy?

Philpot. It maketh not so plain, Master Doctor, on your side, as you gather, as by and by I will give you to understand. But first I challenge the wager which we made that your book is mine. For here you may see that he calleth Cornelius his fellow-bishop, as he doth also in other places. And now for the understanding of that place, you do so misconstrue it, to take the high priest only for the Bishop of Rome, and otherwise than it was in his time. For there were by the Nicene council four patriarchs appointed, the patriarch of Jerusalem, the patriarch of Constantinople, the patriarch of Alexandria, and the patriarch of Rome, of which four, the patriarch of Rome was placed lowest in the council, and so continued many years, for the time of seven or eight general councils, as I am able to shew.

Therefore, St. Cyprian, writing to Cornelius, patriarch of Rome (whom he called his fellow-bishop), findeth himself offended that certain heretics being justly excommunicated by him (as the Novatians were), did flee from his diocese, which was their chief bishop (refusing to be obedient to him and to be reformed), to the Bishop of Rome, and to the Patriarch of Constantinople, and there were received in communion of congregation, in derogation of good order and discipline in the church, and to the maintaining of heresies and schisms, and that here-

sies did spring up, and schisms daily rise hereof; that obedience was not given to the priest of God, nor was it once considered him to be in the church for the time the priest, and for the time the judge in Christ's stead (as the decree of the Nicene council was appointed); not the Bishop of Rome only, but every patriarch in his precinct, who had every one of them a college or cathedral church of learned priests, in hearing of whom by a convocation of his fellow-bishops, with the consent of the people, all heresies were determined by the word of God; and this is the meaning of St. Cyprian.

Doctor Saverson. You take it so, but it seemeth to me otherwise.

Philpot. Upon what ground it should seem otherwise unto you, I know not; but this meaning which I have declared, the general councils, seven or eight, one after another, confirmed it so to be, which did not allow one supreme head only.

Pendleton. There were not so many general councils, but four only allowed.

Philpot. That is not so, Master Pendleton, although there be four specially allowed for the confirmation of the Trinity: but besides these four there were many other general councils, as you may learn by many writers.

A Chaplain. Did not Christ build his church upon Peter? Saint Cyprian saith so.

Philpot. Saint Cyprian, *De Simplicitate Prelatorum*, declareth in what respect he so said: "God gave in person of one man the keys to all, that he might signify the unity of all men." And also, St. Austin saith in the tenth treatise of St. John: "If in Peter had not been the mystery of the church, the Lord had not said unto him, 'I will give unto thee the keys.' For if that were said to Peter, the church hath them not: if the church have them when

Peter received them, he signified the whole church." And also St. Hierom, a priest of Rome, writing to Nepotian, saith, that "all churches do lean to their own pastors," where he speaketh of the ecclesiastical hierarchy or regimen, where he maketh no mention of the Bishop of Rome. And *Ad Euagrium*, he saith, that "wheresover a Bishop be, whether it be at Rome, or at Euagie, or at Rhegium, he is of one power and of one jurisdiction."

Doctor Saverson. St. Hierom on the celestial hierarchy? It was Dionysius you mean.

Philpot. I say not that Hierom wrote any book so entitled. But I say, that in the epistle by me alleged, he maketh mention of the ecclesiastical regimen.

Doctor Saverson. I wonder you will stand so steadfast in your error to your own destruction.

Philpot. I am sure we are in no error, by the promise of Christ made to the faithful once, which is, that he will give to us, his true church, such a spirit of wisdom, that the adversaries thereof should never be able to resist. And by this I know we are of the truth, for that neither by reasoning, neither by writing, your synagogue of Rome is able to answer. Where is there one of you all that ever hath been able to answer any of the godly learned ministers of Germany, who have disclosed your counterfeit religion? Which of you all (at this day) is able to answer Calvin's Institutions, which is minister of Geneva?

Doctor Saverson. A godly minister indeed of receipt of cutpurses, and runagate traitors. And of late I can tell you, that there is such contention fallen between him and his own sects, that he was fain to flee the town, about predestination. I tell you truth, for I came by Geneva hither.

Philpot. I am sure, you blaspheme that godly man, and that godly church where he is minister; as it is your church's condition, when you cannot answer men by learning, to oppress them with blasphemies and false reports. For in the matter of predestination he is in none other opinion than all the doctors of the church be, agreeing to the Scriptures.

Saverson. Men be able to answer him, if they list. And I pray you which of you have answered Bishop Fisher's book?

Philpot. Yes, Master Doctor, that book is answered and answered again, if you list to seek what hath been written against him.

And after this Doctor Story came in. To whom I said, Master Doctor, you have done me great injury, and without law have straitly imprisoned me, more like a dog than a man. And, besides this, you have not kept promise with me, for you promised that I should be judged the next day after.

Story. I am come now to keep promise with thee. Was there ever such a fantastical man as this is? Nay, he is no man, he is a beast: yea, these heretics be worse than brute beasts; for they will upon a vain singularity take upon them to be wiser than all men, being indeed very fools and ass-heads, not able to maintain that which of an arrogant obstinacy they do stand in.

Philpot. Master Doctor, I am content to abide your railing judgment of me now. Say what you will, I am content; for I am under your feet to be trodden on as you list. God forgive it you; yet I am no heretic. Neither you nor any other shall be able to prove that I hold any jot against the word of God, otherwise than a Christian man ought.

Story. The word of God? forsooth, the word of God. It is but a folly to reason with these heretics, for they are incurable and desperate. But yet I may reason with thee, not that I have any hope to win thee, whom wilt thou appoint to judge of the word whereunto thou standest?

Philpot. Verily the word itself.

Story. Do you not see the ignorance of this beastly heretic? He willeth the word to be judged of the word. Can the word speak?

Philpot. If I cannot prove that, which I have said, by good authority, I will be content to be counted an heretic and an ignorant person, and further what you please.

Story. Let us hear what wise authority thou canst bring in.

Philpot. It is the saying of Christ in St. John: "The word which I have spoken, shall judge in the last day." If the word shall judge in the last day, much more it ought to judge our doings now: and, I am sure, I have my judge on my side, who shall absolve and justify me in another world. Howsoever now it shall please you by authority unrighteously to judge of me and others, sure I am in another world to judge you.

Story. What? You purpose to be a stinking martyr, and to sit in judgment with Christ at the last day to judge the twelve tribes of Israel.

Philpot. Yea, Sir, I doubt not thereof, having the promise of Christ, if I die for righteousness' sake, which you have begun to persecute in me.

Story. I told you, it was but vain to argue with this heretic; he is drowned in his heresies without all learning.

Philpot. Sir, I have brought you for that I have said good authority out of God's book, to the which

you answer nothing, but go about still to give railing judgment against me without any cause.

Story. I will come to you by and by. When the judge in Westminster Hall giveth sentence, doth the word give sentence, or the judge? tell me.

Philpot. Civil matters be subject to civil men, and they have authority by the word, to be judges of them. But the word of God is not subject to man's judgment, but ought to judge all the wisdom, thoughts, and doings of men; and therefore your comparison disproveth nothing that I have said, neither answereth any whit thereto.

Story. Wilt thou not allow the interpretation of the church upon the Scriptures?

Philpot. Yes, if it be according to the word of the true church: and this I say to you, as I have said heretofore, that if ye can prove the church of Rome (whereof ye are) to be the true catholic church, which I ought to follow, I will be as ready to yield thereto (as long as it can be so proved) as you may desire me.

Story. What a fellow is this! he will believe nothing but what he list himself. Are we not in possession of the church? Have not our forefathers these many hundred years taken this church for the catholic church whereof we are now? And if we had none other proof but this, it were sufficient; for the prescription of time maketh a good title in the law.

Philpot. You do well, Master Doctor, to allege prescription of many years, for it is all that you have to shew for yourselves. But you must understand, that prescription hath no place in matters belonging unto God, as I am able to shew by the testimony of many doctors.

Story. Well, Sir, you are like to go after your father Latimer, the sophister, and Ridley, who had

nothing to allege for himself, but that he had learned his heresy of Cranmer. When I came to him with a poor bachelor of arts, he trembled as though he had had the palsy, as these heretics have always some token of fear, whereby a man may know them, as you may see this man's eyes do tremble in his head. But I dispatched them; and I tell thee, that there hath been yet never a one burnt, but I have spoken with him, and have been a cause of his dispatch.

Philpot. You have the more to answer for, Master Doctor, as you shall feel in another world, how much soever you do now triumph of your proceedings.

Story. I tell thee, I will never be confessed thereof. And because I cannot now tarry to speak with my Lord, I pray one of you tell my Lord, that my coming was to signify to His Lordship, that he must out of hand rid this heretic out of the way. —And going away he said to me, I certify thee, that thou mayest thank none other man but me.

Philpot. I thank you therefor, with all my heart, and God forgive it you.

Story. What! dost thou thank me? If I had thee in my study half an hour, I think I should make you sing another song.

Philpot. No, Master Doctor, I stand upon too sure a ground to be overthrown by you now.—And thus they departed all away from me one after another, until I was left all alone. And afterwards with my keeper going to my coal-house, as I went, I met with my Lord of London, who spake unto me gently, as he hath hitherto in word, saying:

London. Philpot, if there be any pleasure I may shew you in my house, I pray you require it, and you shall have it.

Philpot. My Lord, the pleasure that I will require of your Lordship, is to hasten my judgment which is committed unto you, and to dispatch me forth of this miserable world unto my eternal rest.—And for all this fair speech, I cannot attain hitherto this fortnight's space, neither fire nor candle, neither yet good lodging. But it is good for a man to be brought low in this world, and to be counted amongst the vilest, that he may in time of reward receive exaltation and glory. Therefore praised be God, that hath humbled me, and given me grace with gladness to be content therewithal.

Let all that love the truth say, Amen.

Thus endeth the fifth tragedy.

The sixth Examination of JOHN PHILPOT, had before the Right Honourable Lords, the Lord Chamberlain to the Queen's Majesty, the Viscount Hertford, commonly called Lord Ferrars, the Lord Rich, the Lord St. John, the Lord Windsor, the Lord Shandois, Sir John Bridges, Lieutenant of the Tower, and two other more, whose Names I know not, with the Bishop of London and Doctor Chedsey, the sixth Day of November, Anno 1555.

Philpot. Before that I was called afore the Lords, and whilst they were sitting down, the Bishop of London came aside to me and whispered in mine ears, willing me to use myself before the Lords of the Queen's Majesty's council prudently, and to take heed what I said; and thus he pretended to give me counsel because he wished me to do well, as I might now do if I list. And after the Lords and other worshipful gentlemen of the Queen's Majesty's servants were set, my Lord of London placed himself at the end of the table, and called me to him, and by the Lords I was placed at the upper end against

him; where I, kneeling down, the Lords commanded me to stand up, and after in this manner the Bishop began to speak.

London. Master Philpot, I have heretofore both privately myself, and openly before the Lords of the clergy, more times than once caused you to be talked withal to reform your errors, but I have not found you yet so tractable, as I would wish: wherefore now I have desired these honourable Lords of the temporality and of the Queen's Majesty's council, who have taken pains with me this day, I thank them therefor, to hear you, what you can say, that they may be judges, whether I have sought all means to do you good or no: and I dare be bold to say in their behalf, that if you shew yourself conformable to the Queen's Majesty's proceedings, you shall find as much favour for your deliverance, as you can wish; I speak not this to fawn upon you, but to bring you home into the church. Now let them hear what you can say.

Philpot. My Lord, I thank God of this day, that I have such an honourable audience to declare my mind before. And I cannot but commend Your Lordship's equity in this behalf, which agreeth with the order of the primitive church, which was, if any body had been suspected of heresy, as I am now, he should be called first before the archbishop or bishop of the diocese, where he was suspected; secondly, in the presence of others his fellow-bishops and learned elders; and thirdly, in hearing of the laity; where after the judgment of God's word declared, and with the assent of other bishops and consent of the people, he was condemned for an heretic, or absolved. And the second point of that good order I have found at Your Lordship's hands already in being called before you and your fellow-bishops, and now have the third sort of men, at

whose hands I trust to find more righteousness in my cause, than I have found with my Lords of the clergy; God grant, I may have at the last judgment of God's word concerning the same.

London. Master Philpot, I pray you, ere you go any further, tell my Lords here plainly, whether you were by me or by my procurement committed to prison or not, and whether I have shewed you any cruelty since ye have been committed to my prison.

Philpot. If it shall please Your Lordships to give me leave to declare forth my matter, I will touch that afterwards.

Rich. Answer first of all to my Lord's two questions, and then proceed forth to the matter. How say you? Were you imprisoned by my Lord, or no? Can you find any fault since with his cruel using of you?

Philpot. I cannot lay to my Lord's charge the cause of my imprisonment, neither may I say that he hath used me cruelly; but rather, for my part, I may say, that I have found more gentleness at His Lordship's hands, than I did at mine own ordinary's, for the time I have been within his prison, for that he hath called me three or four times to mine answer, to the which I was not called in a twelvemonth and a half before.

Rich. Well, now go to your matter.

Philpot. The matter is, that I am imprisoned for the disputations had by me in the convocation-house, against the sacrament of the altar, which matter was not moved principally my me, but by the prolocutor, with the consent of the Queen's Majesty, and of the whole house; and that house, being a member of the Parliament-house, ought to be a place of free speech for all men of the house, by the ancient and laudable custom of this realm. Wherefore, I think

myself to have sustained hitherto great injury for speaking my conscience freely in such a place as I might lawfully do it: and I desire your honourable Lordships' judgment which be of the Parliament-house, whether of right I ought to be impeached therefor, and sustain the loss of my living (as I have done), and, moreover, of my life, as it is sought.

Rich. You are deceived herein; for the convocation-house is no part of the Parliament-house.

Philpot. My Lord, I have always understood the contrary by such, as are more expert men in things in this realm, than I; and again, the title of every act leadeth me to think otherwise, which allegeth the agreement of the spirituality and the temporality assembled together.

Rich. Yea, that is meant of the spiritual lords of the upper house.

Windsor. Indeed the convocation-house is called together by one writ of the summons of the Parliament of an old custom; notwithstanding that house is no part of the Parliament-house.

Philpot. My Lords, I must be contented to abide your judgments in this behalf.

Rich. We have told you the truth. Marry, yet we would not that you should be troubled for any thing that there was spoken, so that you, having spoken amiss, do declare now that you are sorry therefor.

London. My Lords, he hath spoken there manifestly heresy; yea, and there stoutly maintained the same against the blessed sacrament of the altar—(and with that he put off his cap, that all the Lords might reverence and vail their bonnets at that idol, as he did),—and would not allow the real presence of the body and blood of Christ in the same: yet, my Lords, God forbid that I should go about to shew

him extremity for so doing, in case he will repent and revoke his wicked sayings; and if in faith he will so do, with your Lordships' consent he shall be released by and by. Marry, if he will not, he shall look for the extremity of the law, and that shortly.

Lord Chamberlain. My Lord of London speaketh reasonably unto you: take it while it is offered you.

Rich. How say you? Will you acknowledge the real presence of the body and blood of Christ, as all the learned men of this realm do, in the mass, and as I do, and will believe as long as I live, I do protest it?

Philpot. My Lord, I do acknowledge in the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ such a presence, as the word of God doth allow and teach me.

Rich. That shall be no otherwise than you list.

London. A sacrament is a sign of a holy thing: so that there is both the sign which is the accident (as the whiteness, roundness, and shape of bread); and there is also the thing itself, as very Christ, both God and man. But these heretics will have the sacrament to be but bare signs. How say you? declare unto my Lords here whether you do allow the thing itself in the sacrament or no?

Philpot. I do confess that in the Lord's Supper there is in due respects both the sign and the thing signified, when it is duly ministered after the institution of Christ.

London. You may see, how he goeth about the bush (as he hath done before with my Lords of the clergy), and dare not utter his mind plainly.

Rich. Shew us what manner of presence you allow in the sacrament.

Philpot. If it please you, my Lord of London, to proceed orderly thereunto, and to let me declare my

mind without interruption, I will thoroughly open my mind therein.

Lord Shandois. I pray you, my Lord, let him speak his mind.

Philpot. My Lords, that at the first I have not plainly declared my judgment unto you the reason is this, because I cannot speak hereof without the danger of my life.

Rich. There is none of us here that seeketh thy life, or means to take any advantage of that thou shalt speak.

Philpot. Although I mistrust not you, honourable Lordships, that be here of the temporality; yet here is one that sitteth against me (pointing to my Lord of London) that will lay it to my charge even to the death. Notwithstanding, seeing your Honours do require me to declare my mind of the presence of Christ in the sacrament, that ye may perceive that I am not ashamed of the Gospel of Christ, neither do maintain any opinion without probable and sufficient authority of the Scripture, I will shew you frankly my mind without all colour, whatsoever shall ensue unto me therefor, so that my Lord of London will not let me to utter my mind.

Rich. My Lord, permit him to say what he can, seeing he is willing to shew his mind.

London. I am content, my Lords; let him say what he can, I will hear him.

Philpot. That which I do intend to speak unto you (right honourable Lords) I do protest here, first before God, and his angels, that I speak it not of vain glory, neither of singularity, neither of wilful stubbornness, but truly upon a good conscience, grounded on God's word, against the which I dare not do for fear of damnation, which will follow that which is done contrary to knowledge. Neither do I

disagree to the proceedings of this realm as to religion, for that I love not the Queen (whom I love from the bottom of my heart), but because I ought to love and fear God in his word more than man in his laws, though I stand as I seem to do in this consideration, and for none other, as God I call to witness.

There be two things principally, by the which the clergy at this day do deceive the whole realm; that is, the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, and the name of the catholic church: the which both they do usurp, having indeed none of them both. And as touching their sacraments, which they term of the altar, I say now as I said in the convocation-house, that it is not the sacrament of Christ, neither in the same is there any manner of Christ's presence. Wherefore they deceive the Queen's Majesty, and you of the nobility of this realm, in making you to believe that to be a sacrament, which is none, and cause you to commit manifest idolatry in worshipping that for God, which is no God. And in testimony of this to be true, besides manifest proof which I am able to make to the Queen's Majesty, and to all you of her nobility, I will yield my life. The which to do, if it were not upon a sure ground, it were to my utter damnation.

And where they take on them the name of the catholic church (whereby they blind many folk's eyes), they are nothing so, calling you from the true religion which was revealed and taught in King Edward's time, unto vain superstition. And this I will say for the trial hereof, that if they can prove themselves to be the catholic church (as they shall never be able to do), I will never be against their doings, but revoke all that I have said. And I shall desire you, my Lords, to be a mean for me to the Queen's Majesty, that I may be brought to the just

trial hereof. Yea, I will not refuse to stand against ten of the best of them in this realm. And if they be able to prove otherwise than I have said, either by writing or by reasoning, with good and lawful authority, I will here promise to recant whatsoever I have said, and to consent to them in all points.—And in the declaration of these things more at large, which now I write in sum, the Bishop of London eftsoons would have interrupted me, but the Lords procured me liberty to make out my tale, to the great grief of the Lord Bishop of London, as it appeared by the dumps he was in.

London. It hath been told me before, that you love to make a long tale.

Rich. All heretics do boast of the Spirit of God, and every one would have a church by himself; as Joan of Kent and the Anabaptists. I had myself Joan of Kent a week in my house after the writ was out for her to be burnt, where my Lord of Canterbury and Bishop Ridley resorted almost daily unto her: but she was so high in the spirit that they could do nothing with her for all their learning. But she went wilfully unto the fire, and was burnt, and so do you now.

Philpot. As for Joan of Kent, she was a vain woman (I knew her well), and an heretic indeed; she was burnt, because she stood against one of the manifest articles of our faith, contrary to the Scriptures: and such vain spirits be soon known from the true Spirit of God and his church, for that the same abideth within the limits of God's word, and will not go out of the same, neither stubbornly maintain any thing contrary to the word, as I have God's word thoroughly on my side to shew for that I stand in.

London. I pray you how will you join me these two Scriptures together; *Pater major me est*, and *Pater et ego unum sumus*? I must interpret the same,

because my Lords here understand not the Latin, that isto say, "The Father is greater than I;" and, "I and the Father are one." But I cry you mercy, my Lords, I have mis-spoken, in saying you understand no Latin; for the most part of you understand Latin as well as I. But I speak in consideration of my Lord Shandois, and Master Bridges his brother, whom I take to be no great Latin men. Now shew your cunning, and join these two Scriptures by the word if you can.

Philpot. Yes, that I can right well; for we must understand, that in Christ there be two natures, the divinity, and the humanity, and in respect of his humanity it is spoken of Christ, "The Father is greater than I." But in respect of his divinity he said again, "The Father and I be one."

London. But what Scripture have you?

Philpot. Yes, I have sufficient Scripture for the proof of that I have said. For the first, it is written of Christ in the Psalms; "Thou hast made him a little lesser than angels." It is in the fifteenth Psalm, beginning, *Cæli enarrant*.—And here I misreckoned, wherewithal my Lord took me.

London. It is in "*Domine Dominus noster*." Ye may see, my Lords, how well this man is used to say his matins.

Philpot. Though I say not matins in such order as your Lordships mean; yet I remember of old, that "*Domine Dominus noster*," and "*Cæli enarrant*," be not far asunder: and albeit I misnamed the Psalm, it is no prejudice to the truth that I have proved.

London. What say you then to the second Scripture? How couple you that by the word to the other?

Philpot. The text itself declareth that, notwithstanding Christ did abase himself in our human nature, yet he is still one in Deity with the Father.

And this St. Paul to the Hebrews doth more at large set forth. And as I have by the Scriptures joined these two Scriptures together, so am I able to do in all other articles of faith which we ought to believe, and by the manifest word of God to expound them.

London. How can that be, seeing St. Paul saith, that “the letter killeth, but it is the Spirit that giveth life?”

Philpot. St. Paul meaneth not the word of God written, in itself killeth, which is the word of life and the faithful testimony of the Lord; but that the word is unprofitable, and killeth him that is void of the Spirit of God, although he be the wisest man of the world; and therefore St. Paul saith, that the Gospel to some was a savour of life unto life, and to some other a savour of death unto death. Also an example hereof in the sixth of John, of them who hearing the word of God without the spirit were offended thereby; wherefore Christ said, “The flesh profiteth nothing; it is the spirit that quickeneth.”

London. What? Do you understand that of St. Paul and St. John so?

Philpot. It is not mine own interpretation, it is agreeable to the word in other places; and I have learned the same of ancient fathers interpreting it likewise. And to the Corinthians it is written; “The natural man perceiveth not the things that be of the Spirit of God; but the spiritual man, which is indued with the Spirit, judgeth all things.”

London. You see, my Lords, that this man will have but his own mind, and will wilfully cast away himself. I am sorry for him.

Philpot. The words that I have spoken be none of mine but of the Gospel, whereon I ought to stand. And if you, my Lord of London, can bring better authority for the faith you will draw me unto, than

that which I stand upon, I will gladly hear the same by you or any other in this realm.

Wherefore I, kneeling down, besought the Lords to be good unto me a poor gentleman, that would fain live in the world, if I might, and testify as you have heard me to say this day, that if any man can prove that I ought to be of any other manner of faith than that which I now am, and can prove the same sufficiently, I will be neither wilful, neither desperate, as my Lord of London would make you believe me to be.

Rich. What countryman be you? Are you of the Philpots of Hampshire?

Philpot. Yea, my Lord, I was Sir Peter Philpot's son of Hampshire.

Rich. He is my near kinsman; wherefore I am the more sorry for him.

Philpot. I thank your Lordship, that it pleaseth you to challenge kindred with a poor prisoner.

Rich. In faith I would go an hundred miles on my bare feet to do you good.

Chamb. He may do well enough, if he list.

St. John. Master Philpot, you are my countryman, and I would be glad you should do well.

Rich. You said even now, that you would desire to maintain your belief before ten of the best in the realm. You did not well to compare with the nobility of the realm. But what if you have ten of the best in the realm to hear you, will you be tried by them?

Philpot. My Lord, your Lordship mistaketh me to think that I challenge ten of the best of the nobility of this realm. It was no part of my mind, but I mean of the best learned on the contrary side.

Rich. Well, I take your meaning: what if means be made to the Queen's Majesty, that you shall have your request, will you be judged by them?

Philpot. My Lord, it is not meet that a man should be judged by his adversaries.

Rich. By whom then would you be judged?

Philpot. I will make your Honours judges, that shall be hearers of us.

Rich. I dare be bold to procure for you of the Queen's Majesty, that you shall have ten learned men to reason with you, and twenty or forty of the nobility to hear, so you will promise to abide their judgment. How say you, will you promise here afore my Lord so to do?

Philpot. I will be contented to be judged by them.

Rich. Yea, but will you promise to agree to their judgment?

Philpot. There be causes why I may not so do, unless I were sure they would judge according to the word of God.

Rich. O, I perceive you will have no man judge but yourself, and think yourself wiser than all the learned men of this realm.

Philpot. My Lord, I seek not to be mine own judge, but am content to be judged by others, so that the order of judgment in matters of religion be kept that was in the primitive church, which is, first, that God's will by his word was sought, and thereunto both the spirituality and temporality was gathered together, and gave their consents and judgments; and such kind of judgment I will stand to.

London. My Lord, he would make you believe that he were profoundly seen in ancient writers of the judgment of the primitive church, and there was never any such manner of judgment used, as he now talketh of.

Philpot. In the Epistle of St. Cyprian I am able to shew it you.

London. I tell you there is no such thing; fetch me Cyprian hither.

Philpot. You shall find it otherwise when the book cometh.—And Dr. Chedsey, his chaplain (whom he appointed to fetch his book), whispered the Bishop in his ear, and fetched not the book, by likelihood that he should have sustained reproach thereof, if the book had been fetched.—Well, my Lord, quoth I, Master Doctor knoweth it is so, or else he would have fetched the book ere this.

Rich. You would have none other judge, I see, but the word.

Philpot. Yes, my Lord, I will be tried by the word, and by such as will judge according to the word. As for an example, if there were a controversy between your Lordship and another upon the words of a statute, must not the words of the statute judge and determine the controversy?

Rich. No, marry, the judges of the law may determine the meaning thereof.

London. He hath brought as good an example against himself as can be.—And here the Bishop thought he had good handiast against me, and therefore enlarged it with many words to the judgment of the church.

The Lords. He hath overthrown himself by his own argument.

Philpot. My Lords, it seemeth to your Honours that you have great advantage of me by the example I brought in, to express my cause; but if it be pondered thoroughly, it maketh wholly with me, and nothing against me, as my Lord of London hath pretended. For I will ask of my Lord Rich here, whom I know to have good knowledge in the laws and statutes of this realm, albeit a judge may discern the meaning of a statute agreeable to the words, whether the same may judge a meaning contrary to the express words, or no?

Rich. He cannot do so.

Philpot. Even so say I, that no man ought to judge the word of God to have a meaning contrary to the express words thereof, as this false church of Rome doth in many things.—And with this the Lords seemed to be satisfied, and made no further replication herein.

Rich. I marvel then why you do deny the express words of Christ in the sacrament, saying, This is my body, and yet you will not stick to say it is not his body. Is not God omnipotent? And is not he able as well by his omnipotency to make it his body, as he was to make man flesh of a piece of clay? Did not he say, “This is my body, which shall be betrayed for you?” And was not his very body betrayed for us? Therefore it must needs be his body.

London. My Lord Rich, you have said wonderful well and learnedly. But you might have begun with him before also in the sixth of John, where Christ promised to give his body in the sacrament of the altar, saying, “The bread which I will give is my flesh.” How can you answer to that?

Philpot. If it please you to give me leave to answer first my Lord Rich, I will also answer this objection.

Rich. Answer my Lord of London first, and after come to me.

Philpot. My Lord of London may be soon answered, that the saying of St. John is, that the humanity of Christ, which he took upon him for the redemption of man, is the bread of life, whereby our bodies and souls be sustained to eternal life, of the which the sacramental bread is a lively representation and an effectual coaptation to all such as believe on his passion. And as Christ saith in the same sixth of John, “I am the bread that came down from heaven;” but yet he is not material neither natural bread: likewise the bread is his flesh, not

natural or substantial, but by signification, and by grace in the sacrament.

And now to my Lord Rich's argument. I do not deny the express words of Christ in the sacrament, "This is my body," but I deny that they are naturally and corporally to be taken: they must be taken sacramentally and spiritually, according to the express declaration of Christ, saying, that the words of the sacrament, which the Capernaïtes took carnally, as the Papists do now, ought to be taken spiritually and not carnally, as they falsely imagine, not weighing what interpretation Christ hath made in this behalf, neither following the institution of Christ, neither the use of the Apostles and of the primitive church, who never taught, neither declared any such carnal manner of presence, as is now exacted of us violently without any ground of Scripture or antiquity, who used to put out of the church all such as did not receive the sacrament with the rest, and also to burn that which was left after the receiving, as by the canon of the Apostles, and by the decree of the council of Antioch, may appear.

London. No, that is not so; they were only catechumens, which went out of the church at the celebration of the communion, and none other.

Philpot. It was not only of such as were novices in faith, but all others that did not receive.

London. What say you to the omnipotency of God? Is not he able to perform that which he spake? as my Lord Rich hath very well said. I tell thee, that God by his omnipotency may make himself to be this carpet if he will.

Philpot. As concerning the omnipotency of God, I say that God is able to do (as the Prophet David saith) whatsoever he willeth; but he willeth nothing that is not agreeable to his word: as that is blasphemy which my Lord of London hath spoken, that

God may become a carpet. For as I have learned of ancient writers, "God cannot do that which is contrary to his nature;" as it is contrary to the nature of God to be a carpet. A carpet is a creature; and God is the Creator; and the Creator cannot be a creature: wherefore unless you can declare by the word, that Christ is otherwise present with us than spiritually and sacramentally by grace, as he hath taught us, you pretend the omnipotency of God in vain.

London. Why, wilt thou not say that Christ is really present in the sacrament? or do you deny it?

Philpot. I deny not that Christ is really in the sacrament to the receiver thereof according to Christ's institution.

London. What mean you by really present?

Philpot. I mean by really present, present indeed.

London. Is God really present every where?

Philpot. He is so.

London. How prove you that?

Philpot. The Prophet Isaiah saith, that God filleth all places: and wheresoever there be two or three gathered together in Christ's name, there is he in the midst of them.

London. What, his humanity?

Philpot. No, my Lord, I mean the Deity, according to that you demanded.

Rich. My Lord of London, I pray you, let Master Doctor Chedsey reason with him, and let us see how he can answer him, for I tell thee he is a learned man indeed, and one that I do credit before a great many of you, whose doctrine the Queen's Majesty and the whole realm doth well allow; therefore hear him.

London. My Lords, I pray you, will it please you to drink? You have talked a great while, and much talk is thirsty. I will leave Master Doctor and him

reasoning together awhile, with your leave, and will come to you by and by again.

Rich. My Lord Rich said to the Lords, I pray you let the poor man drink, for he is thirsty.—And with that he called for a cup of drink, and gave it me, and I drank before them all: God requite it him, for I was athirst indeed. Afterwards Dr. Chedsey began in this wise, making a great process, of the which this is the effect.

Chedsey. Master Philpot findeth fault with the convocation-house before your Lordships, that he hath lain thus long in prison, and that there he had a dozen arguments, whereof he could not be suffered to prosecute one thoroughly, which is not so; for he had leave to say what he could, and was answered to as much as he was able to bring; and when he had nothing else to say, he fell to weeping. I was there present, and can testify thereof; albeit there is a book abroad of the report of the disputation to the contrary, in the which is never a true word. And whereas you require to be satisfied of the sacrament, I will shew you the truth thereof, both by the Scriptures, and by the Doctors.

Philpot. It is a shrewd likelihood that you will not conclude with any truth, since you have begun with so many untruths, as to say that I was answered whilst I had any thing to say, and that I wept for lack of matter to say, and that the book of the report of the disputation is nothing true. God be praised, there were a good many noblemen, gentlemen, and worshipful men that heard and saw the doings thereof, which can testify that you here have made an unjust report before these honourable Lords. And that I wept, was not for lack of matter, as you slander me: for I thank God, I have more matter than the best of you all shall ever be able to answer, as little learning as I have: but my weeping was, as

Christ's was upon Jerusalem, seeing the destruction that should fall upon her ; and I, foreseeing then the destruction which you (through violence and unrighteousness which you there declared) would work against the true church of Christ and his faithful members, as this day beareth witness, was compelled to weep in remembrance of that which I, with infinite more, have felt and shall feel.

All these words I did then speak out, being interrupted by my Lord Rich, saying, that I should suffer him to proceed out in this matter, and afterwards I should have leisure to answer him in every article. But he promised more than he could perform, as the end did well declare, for he had not the consent of the spirituality to his promise, which now rule the roast. God shorten their cruel days, for his elect sake. And therefore I add this, which I had purposed to have spoken, if then I might have been suffered, lest any that perfectly know not the things done in the convocation-house and now laid to my charge, if they should not be answered by me, might reckon Dr. Chedsey's sayings to be true. And as concerning the book of the report of the disputations, I wrote the same, and it is true in every argument, as Master Dean of Rochester, and Master Cheyney, Archdeacon of Hertford (yet being alive, and within the realm), can testify.

Chedsey. You have of Scriptures the four Evangelists for the probation of Christ's real presence to be in the sacrament after the words of consecration, with St. Paul to the Corinthians, which all say, "This is my body." They say not as you would have me to believe, "This is *not* the body." But specially the sixth of John proveth the same most manifestly, where Christ promised to give his body, which he performed in his last supper, as it appeareth by these words, "The bread which I

will give is my flesh, which I will give for the life of the world."

Philpot. My Lord Rich, with your leave, I must needs interrupt him a little, because he speaketh open blasphemy against the death of Christ: for if that promise, brought in by St. John, was performed by Christ in his last supper, then needeth he not to have died after he had given the sacrament.

Rich. Let the Doctor make an end of his arguments, and afterwards object to him what you can.

Chedsey. You must note that there is twice, "Dabo," in this saying of St. John, and the first is referred to the sacrament of the altar; and the second to the sacrifice upon the cross: and besides the manifest Scriptures, there be many ancient doctors proving the same, as Ignatius, Irenæus, and St. Cyprian—(whose authority he recited at large), which I do omit, because I was not permitted to answer the same.

Rich. Now answer, and object to him what you can; and you shall be heard.

Philpot. My Lord, the chief ground whereon he with the rest of his side do ground themselves against us, be these words, "This is my body," with a false pretence of the omnipotency of God. And before I will come to the particular answers of all that he hath alleged, for that your Lordships may the better understand me, what I mean and whereupon I stand, I will first require Master Doctor to answer me one question. But first of all, I do protest to your Honours, that I think as reverently of the sacrament as a Christian man ought to do, and that I acknowledge the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, ministered after Christ's institution, to be one of the greatest treasures and comforts that he left us on the earth: and contrariwise it is most discomfortable and abominable, not being ministered as it ought.

to be, as it is used now-a-days. And now to my question, which is this : whether these words only, "This is my body," spoken by a priest over the bread and wine, may make the body and blood of Christ, as you suppose, or no?

Chedsey. Staggering what he might say, at last he said, that these words alone, pronounced by the priest, be sufficient to make the bread and the wine the very body and blood of Christ really.

Philpot. That is blasphemy to say, and against all the Scriptures and Doctors, who affirm that the form and substance in consecration must be observed which Christ used and did institute, as St. Cyprian saith, "In the sacrifice, which is Christ, only Christ is to be followed." And by the law it is forbidden to add, or to take away from God's word. And St. Peter saith, "If any man speak, let him speak as the word of God." Wherefore, whosoever saith that these words only, "This is my body," do make a presence of Christ, without, "Bless, take, and eat," which be three as substantial points of the sacrament, as, "This is my body," is, he is highly deceived.

Therefore St. Austin saith, "Let the word be joined to the element, and it becometh a sacrament:" so that if the entire words of Christ's institution be not observed in the ministration of a sacrament, it is no sacrament, as the sacrifices which the ten tribes did offer at Bethel to God were not acceptable, because they were not in all points done according to God's word. Wherefore, except blessing be made after the word (which is a due thanksgiving for our redemption in Christ), and also a shewing forth of the Lord's death in such wise as the congregation may be edified; and moreover a taking and eating after Christ's commandment: ex-

cept (I say) these three parts be first performed (which is not done in the mass), these words, "This is my body," which are last placed in the institution of the Lord's supper, cannot be verified. For Christ commanded as well, "Take ye, eat ye," as, "This is my body."

Chedsey. Christ said, "Take, eat, this is my body," and not, "Take ye, eat ye."

Philpot. No, Master Doctor? Be not these the words of Christ, "*Accipite, manducate?*" And do not these words in the plural number signify, "Take ye, eat ye," and not, "Take thou, eat thou," as you would suppose?

Chedsey. I grant it is as you say.

Philpot. Likewise of consequence, you (Master Doctor) must needs deny what you have said, that these words, "This is my body," being only spoken, be sufficient to make the body and blood of Christ in the sacrament, as you have untruly said.

London. Then came in the Bishop again, and said, What is that you would have Master Doctor deny?

Philpot. My Lord, Master Doctor hath affirmed that these words, "This is my body," spoken by the priest, only do make the sacrament.

London. Indeed if Master Bridges should speak these words over the bread and wine, they would be of none effect: but if a priest speak them after a due manner, they are effectual, and make a real body.

Philpot. Master Doctor hath said otherwise.

London. I think you mistake him; for he meaneth of the words duly pronounced.

Philpot. Let him revoke that he hath granted, and then will I begin again with that which before was said: that, "This is my body," hath no place,

except, "Bless, take, and eat," duly go before. And therefore, because the same words do not go before, "this is my body," but preposterously follow in your sacrament of the mass, it is not the sacrament of Christ, neither hath Christ present in it.

Chedsey. If, "this is my body," only do not make the sacrament, no more do, "bless, take and eat."

Philpot. I grant that the one without the other cannot make the sacrament. And it can be no sacrament unless the whole action of Christ doth concur together according to the first institution.

Chedsey. Why, then you would not have it to be the body of Christ, unless it be received?

Philpot. No verily, it is not the very body of Christ to any other, but such as condignly receive the same after his institution.

London. Is not a loaf a loaf, being set on a table, though nobody eat thereof?

Philpot. It is not like, my Lord; for a loaf is a loaf before it be set on the table: but so is not the sacrament a perfect sacrament before it be duly ministered at the table of the Lord.

London. I pray you, what is it in the mean while, before it is received?

Philpot. It is, my Lord, the sign begun of a holy thing, and yet no perfect sacrament until it be received. For in the sacrament there be two things to be considered, the sign and the thing itself, which is Christ and his whole passion; and it is that to none but to such as worthily receive the holy signs of bread and wine, according to Christ's institution.

Windsor. There were never any that denied the words of Christ as you do. Did not he say, "This is my body?"

Philpot. My Lord, I pray you, be not deceived. We do not deny the words of Christ: but we say,

these words be of none effect, being spoken otherwise than Christ did institute them in his last supper. For an example : Christ biddeth the church to baptize in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost ; if a priest say these words over the water, and there be no child to be baptized, those words only pronounced do not make baptism. And again : baptism is only baptism to such as be baptized, and to none others standing by.

Lord Chamb. I pray you, my Lord, let me ask him one question. What kind of presence in the sacrament (duly ministered, according to Christ's ordinance) do you allow ?

Philpot. If any come worthily to receive, then do I confess the presence of Christ wholly to be, with all the fruits of his passion, unto the said worthy receiver, by the spirit of God, and that Christ is thereby joined to him and he to Christ.

Lord Chamb. I am answered.

London. My Lords, take no heed of him, for he goeth about to deceive you. His similitude that he bringeth in of baptism, is nothing like to the sacrament of the altar. For if I should say to Sir John Bridges being with me at supper, and having a fat capon, "Take, eat, this is a capon," although he eat not thereof, is it not a capon still ? And likewise of a piece of beef, or of a cup of wine, if I say, "Drink, this is a cup of wine," is it not so because he drinketh not thereof ?

Philpot. My Lord, your similitudes be too gross for so high mysteries as we have in hand, as if I were your equal I could more plainly declare : and there is much more dissimilitude between common meats and drinks, than there is between baptism and the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ. Like must be compared to like, and spiritual things with spiritual, and not spiritual things with corporal

things. And meats and drinks be of their own nature good or evil, and your words, commending or discommending, do but declare what they are. But the sacraments be to be considered according to the word that Christ spake of them, of the which, "take ye, and eat ye," be some of the chief, concurrent to the making of the same, without the which there can be no sacraments: and therefore in Greek, the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ is called, *κοινωνία*, communion, and likewise in the Gospel Christ cominanded, saying, "Divide it among you."

Chedsey. St. Paul calleth it a communication.

Philpot. That doth more expressly shew that there must be a participation of the sacrament together.

London. My Lords, I am sorry I have troubled you so long with this obstinate man, with whom we can do no good; I will trouble you no longer now.—And with that the Lords rose up, none of them saying any evil word unto me, half amazed in my judgment. God work it to good!

Thus endeth the sixth part of this tragedy: the seventh look for with joy.

The seventh Examination of JOHN PHILPOT, had the 19th of November, before the Bishops of London and Rochester, the Chancellor of Lichfield, and Dr. Chedsey.

London. Sirrah, come hither. How chance you come no sooner? Is it well done of you to make Master Chancellor and me to tarry for you this hour? By the faith of my body! half an hour before mass, and half an hour even at mass, looking for your coming.

Philpot. My Lord, it is not unknown to you that I am a prisoner, and that the doors be shut

upon me, and I cannot come when I list ; but as soon as the doors of my prison were open, I came immediately.

London. We sent for thee to the intent thou shouldest have come to mass. How say you, would you have come to mass or no, if the doors had sooner been opened ?

Philpot. My Lord, that is another manner of question.

London. Lo, Master Chancellor, I told you we should have a froward fellow of him ; he will answer directly to nothing. I have had him before both the spiritual Lords and temporal, and thus he fareth still ; yet he reckoneth himself better learned than all the realm. Yea, before the temporal Lords the other day, he was so foolish to challenge the best ; he would make himself learned, and is a very ignorant fool indeed.

Philpot. I reckon I answered your Lordship before the Lords plain enough.

London. Why answerest thou not directly, whether thou wouldst have gone to mass or no, if thou hadst come in time ?

Philpot. Mine answer shall be thus : that if your Lordship can prove your mass, whereunto you would have me to come, to be the true service of God, whereunto a Christian ought to come, I will afterwards come with a good will.

London. Look, I pray you : the King and the Queen, and all the nobility of the realm do come to mass, and yet he will not. By my faith, thou art too well handled : thou shalt be worse handled hereafter, I warrant thee.

Philpot. If to lie in a blind coal-house may be counted too good handling, both without fire and candle, then may it be said, I am well handled. Your Lordship hath power to treat my body as you list.

London. Thou art a fool, and a very ignorant fool. Master Chancellor, in good faith I have handled him and his fellows with as much gentleness as they can desire. I let their friends come unto them to relieve them. And wot you what? The other day they had gotten themselves up into the top of the leads with a many of apprentices, gazing abroad as though they had been at liberty; but I will cut off your resort: and as for the apprentices, they were as good not to come to you, if I take them.

Philpot. My Lord, we have no such resort to us, as your Lordship imagineth, and there come very few unto us. And of apprentices I know not one; neither have we any leads to walk on over our coal-house, that I wot of: wherefore your Lordship has mistaken your mark.

London. Nay, now you think (because my Lord Chancellor is gone), we will burn no more: yes, I warrant thee, I will dispatch you shortly, unless you do recant.

Philpot. My Lord, I had not thought that I should have been now alive, neither so raw as I am, but well roasted to ashes.

Chancellor. Cast not yourself wilfully away, Master Philpot. Be content to be ruled by my Lord here, and by other learned men of this realm, and you may do well enough.

Philpot. My conscience beareth me record that I seek to please God, and that the love and fear of God causeth me to do as I do; and I were of all other creatures most miserable, if for mine own will only I do lose all the commodities I might have in this life, and afterward be cast to damnation. But I am sure, it is not my will whereon I stand, but God's will, which will not suffer me to be cast away, I am sure.

Chancellor. You are not so sure, but you may be deceived.

London. Well, since thou wilt not be conformable by fair means, I will proceed against thee officially, and therefore hearken here to such articles as I have here written, and I charge thee to make answer to them.—And with that he read a libel which he had in his hand of divers articles, and when he had done, he bade me answer.

Philpot. Your libel, my Lord, containeth in sum two special points: the first pretendeth, that I should be of your diocese, and therefore your Lordship, upon divers suspects and infamies of heresy going upon me, is moved to proceed against me by your ordinary office; the which first is not true, for that I am not of your Lordship's diocese, as the libel doth pretend. And the second is, that I, being baptized in the catholic church, and in the catholic faith, am gone from them, the which is not so, for I am of that catholic faith and church as I was baptized unto.

London. What! art thou not of my diocese? Where are you now, I pray you?

Philpot. My Lord, I cannot deny but I am in your coal-house, which is your diocese: yet I am not of your diocese.

London. You were sent hither unto me by the Queen's Majesty's commissioners, and thou art now in my diocese: wherefore I will proceed against thee as thy ordinary.

Philpot. I was brought hither through violence, and therefore my present being now in your diocese is not enough to abridge me of my ordinary jurisdiction, neither maketh it me willingly subject to your jurisdiction, since it cometh by force, and by such men as had no just authority so to do. No more

than a sanctuary man, being by force brought forth of his place of privilege, doth thereby lose his privilege, but always may challenge the same wheresoever he be brought.

Chedsey. Hath not the Queen's Majesty authority by her commissioners, to remove your body whither she will? And ought not you to obey herein?

Philpot. I grant that the Queen's Majesty (of her just power) may transport my body, whither it shall please Her Grace to command the same. But yet by your laws, "spiritual causes be no tsubject to the temporal power." As for example: you, Master Doctor, if the Queen's Majesty would appoint two temporal men to be judges over you in spiritual matters, might not you allege the privilege of a clerk, and command competent spiritual judges in your causes?

London. Doth not a man (I pray you) *sortiri forum ratione delicti*?

Philpot. My Lord, your rule is true in temporal matters, but in spiritual causes it is not so; which be otherwise privileged.

London. What sayest thou then to the second article, and to the other?

Philpot. My Lord, I say I am not bound to answer the second, neither the rest, unless the first be proved.

London. Well, suppose the first may be proved, as it will be, what will you say then to the second? that you are not of the same catholic faith, neither of the same church now, as you were baptized in?

Philpot. I am of the same catholic faith, and of the same catholic church, which is of Christ, the pillar and establishment of truth.

London. Nay, that you are not.

Philpot. Yes, that I am.

London. Your godfathers and godmothers were of another faith than you be now.

Philpot. I was not baptized either into my godfathers' faith, or my godmothers', but into the faith and into the church of Christ.

London. How know you that?

Philpot. By the word of God, which is the touchstone of faith, and the limits of the church.

London. How long hath your church stood, I pray you?

Philpot. Even from the beginning; from Christ and his Apostles, and from their immediate successors.

Chancellor. He will prove his church to be before Christ.

Philpot. If I did so, I go not amiss: for there was a church before the coming of Christ, which maketh one catholic church.

Chancellor. It is so indeed.

Philpot. I will desire no better rule than the same which is oftentimes brought in on your side, to prove both my faith and the catholic church; that is, antiquity, universality, and unity.

London. Do you not see what a bragging, foolish fellow this is? He would seem to be very well seen in the doctors, and he is but a fool. By what doctor art thou able to prove thy church? Name him, and thou shalt have him.

Philpot. My Lord, let me have all your ancient writers, with pen, and ink, and paper, and I will prove both my faith and my church out of every one of them.

London. No, that thou shalt not have. You shall see how he lieth. St. Cyprian saith, "there must be one high priest, to the which the residue must obey:" and they will allow no head, neither vicar general.

Philpot. Saint Cyprian saith not, that there should be a vicar general over all : for in his book, *De Simplicitate Prelatorum*, I am sure he saith the contrary : “ There is but one bishoprick, which is wholly possessed of every bishop in part.”

London. Fetch hither the book ; thou shalt see the manifest place against thee.

Doctor Chedsey brought the book, and turned to the place in an epistle written unto Cornelius, then bishop of Rome, and recited these words in sum, that “ it went not well with the church, where the high priest was not obeyed,” and so would have concluded for the confirmation of the Bishop’s saying.

Philpot. Master Doctor, you misconstrue the place of St. Cyprian : for he meaneth not there, by the high priest, the bishop of Rome, but every patriarch in his precinct, of whom there were four appointed in his time. And in writing unto Cornelius, he meaneth by the high priest, himself, which was then chief bishop of Africa, whose authority the heretics began to despise. Whereof he complaineth to Cornelius, and saith, “ The church cannot be well ordered, where the chief minister by order, after the judgment of the Scriptures, after the agreement of the people, and the consent of his fellow-bishops, is not obeyed.”

London. Hath not the Bishop of Rome always been supreme head of the church, and Christ’s vicar in earth even from Peter ?

Philpot. No, that he was not. For by the word of God he hath no more authority, than the Bishop of London hath.

London. Was not Peter head of the church, and hath not the Bishop of Rome, which is his successor, the same authority ?

Philpot. I grant that the Bishop of Rome, as he

is the successor of Peter, hath the same authority as Peter had ; but Peter had no more authority than every one of the Apostles had.

Chancellor. Yes, that St. Peter had ; for Christ said specially unto him, “ I will give thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven ; ” the which he spake to none other of his disciples singularly, but to him.

Philpot. Saint Austin answereth otherwise to the objection, and saith, that if Peter there had not been the figure of the church, the Lord had not said to him, “ To thee I will give the keys of the kingdom of heaven.” The which if Peter received not, the church hath them not. If the church hath them, then Peter hath them not.

London. What if I can prove and shew you out of the civil law, that all Christendom ought to follow the holy catholic church of Rome, as there is a special title thereof, *De catholica Fide, et sancta Romana Ecclesia ?*

Philpot. That is nothing material, seeing the things of God be not subject to man’s laws ; and the divine matters must be ordered by the word of God, and not of man.

A Doctor. What will you say, if I can prove that Christ builded his church upon Peter, and that out of St. Cyprian ? Will you then believe that the Bishop of Rome ought to be supreme head of the church ?

Philpot. I know what St. Cyprian writeth in that behalf ; but he meaneth nothing as you take it.

A Doctor. St. Cyprian hath these words, that, “ upon Peter was builded the church, and as upon the first beginning of unity.”

Philpot. He declareth that in an example, that unity must be in the church ; he grounded on Peter his church alone, and not upon men. The which

he doth more manifestly declare in the book *De Simplicitate Prelatorum*, saying, "In the person of one man God gave the keys to all, that he in signification thereby might declare the unity of all men."

A Doctor. What, will you understand St. Cyprian so? That were good indeed.

Philpot. I think you cannot understand St. Cyprian better than he doth declare himself.

London. I will desire you, Master Chancellor, to take some pains with Master Dr. Chedsey, about his examination, for I must go to the Parliament-house. And I will desire you to dine with me.

Philpot. Then the Doctor took again his former authority in hand for want of another, and would have made a further circumstance, digressing from his purpose. To whom I said, he knew not whereabout he went; and therewith he laughed. And I said, his divinity was nothing but scoffing.

M. Doctor. Yea, then I have done with you.--And so went away.

Philpot. You are too young in divinity to teach me in the matters of my faith. Though you be learned in other things more than I, yet in divinity I have been longer practised than you, for any thing I can hear of you; and therefore be not too hasty to judge that you do not perfectly know.

Chancellor. Peter and his successors from the beginning have been allowed for the supreme head of the church, and that by the Scriptures, for that Christ said unto him in St. John thrice, "Feed my sheep."

Philpot. That is no otherwise to be taken, than, "Goye and preach," which was spoken to all the Apostles, as well as unto Peter. And that Christ said thrice, "Feed my sheep," it signifieth nothing else but the earnest study that the ministers of God ought to have in

preaching the word. God grant that you of the clergy would weigh your duty in this behalf more than you do. Is this a just interpretation of the Scripture to take, "Feed my sheep," for, "to be Lord of the whole world?"—In this mean while came in the bachelor of divinity, which is a reader of Greek in Oxford, belonging to the Bishop, and he took upon him to help Master Chancellor.

Scholar. What will you say, if I can shew you a Greek author called Theophylact, to interpret it so? Will you believe his interpretation?

Philpot. Theophylact is a late writer, and one that was a favourer of the Bishop of Rome; and therefore not to be credited, since his interpretation is contrary to the manifest words of the Scripture, and contrary to the determination of many general councils.

Scholar. In what general council was it otherwise, that the Bishop of Rome was not supreme head over all?

Philpot. In Nice council I am sure it was otherwise, for Athanasius was there the chief Bishop and president of the council, and not the Bishop of Rome.

Scholar. Nay, that is not so.

Philpot. Then I perceive, you are better seen in words than in knowledge of things: and I will gage with you what you will, it is so, as you may see in the Epitome of the Councils.

Scholar. I will fetch Eusebius, and shew the contrary, and the book of general councils.—He went into my Lord's closet, and brought Eusebius; but the general councils he brought not, saying (for saving of his honesty) that he could not come by them, and there he would have defended that it was otherwise in Eusebius, but was not able to shew the same, and so shrank away confounded.

Chancellor. The church of Rome hath been al-

ways taken for the whole catholic church ; therefore I would advise you to come into the same with us. You see all the men of this realm do condemn you. And why will you be singular ?

Philpot. I have said, and still do say, that if you can be able to prove it to me, that I will be of the same. But I am sure, that the church which you make much of, is a false church, and a synagogue of Satan. And you, with the learned men of the realm, do persecute the true church, and condemn such as be more righteous than you.

Chancellor. Do you hear, Master Doctor, what he saith, that the church of Rome is the devil ?

Chedsey. I wish you did think more reverently of the church of Rome. What will you say, if I can shew you out of St. Austin, in his Epistle written unto Pope Innocentius, that the whole general council of Carthage did allow the church of Rome to be chiefest over all others ?

Philpot. I am sure, you can shew no such thing. —And with that he fetched the book of St. Austin, and turned to his Epistle : but he could not prove his allegation manifestly, but by conjectures in this wise.

Chedsey. Here you may see, that the council of Carthage, writing to Innocent the Bishop, calleth the See of Rome the Apostolic See. And besides this, they write to him, certifying him of things done in the council for the condemnation of the Donatists, requiring his approbation of the same, which they would not have done, if they had not taken the church of Rome for the supreme head of others. And moreover you may see how St. Austin doth prove the church of Rome to be the catholic church by continual succession of the Bishops until his time, which succession we can prove until our days: there-

fore by the same reason of St. Austin we say now, that the church of Rome is the catholic church.

Philpot. Master Doctor, I have considered how you do weigh St. Austin ; and contrary to his meaning and words, you would infer your false conclusion. As concerning that it was called by him the Apostolic See, that is not material to prove the church of Rome now to be the catholic church. I will grant it now that it is the Apostolic See, in respect that Paul and Peter did once there preach the Gospel, and abode there for a certain season. I would you could prove it to be the Apostolic See of the true religion and sincerity, as the Apostles left it, and did teach the same ; the which if you could do, you might boast of Rome as the Apostolic See ; otherwise it is now of no more force, than if the Turk at Antioch and at Jerusalem should boast of the Apostolic Sees, because the Apostles once did there abide, and founded the church of Christ.

And whereas the whole council of Carthage did write unto Pope Innocentius, certifying him of that was done in the general council, and willing him to set his helping hand to the suppressing of the Donatists, as they have done ; that the fact of the council proveth nothing the supremacy of the Bishop of Rome, no more than if the whole convocation-house now gathered together, and agreeing upon certain articles, might send the same to some Bishop, that upon certain impediments is not present, willing him to agree thereto, and to set them forth in his diocese. The which fact doth not make any such Bishop of greater authority than the rest, because his consent is brotherly required.

And touching the succession of the Bishops of Rome, brought in by St. Austin, it maketh nothing now thereby to prove the same catholic church, unless you can conclude with the same reason as St.

Austin doth. And the rehearsal of the succession of the Bishops doth tend to this only, to prove the Donatists to be heretics, because they began as well at Rome as in Africa to found another church of their own setting up, than was grounded by Peter and Paul, and by their successors, whom he reciteth until his time, which all taught no such doctrine, neither such church as the Donatists. And if presently you be able to prove by the Bishops of Rome (whereof you do glory) that such doctrine hath been taught by any of the successors of Peter's See, as is now taught and believed of us, you have good reason against us : otherwise it is of no force, as I am able to declare.

Chancellor. Well, Master Doctor, you see we can do no good in persuading of him : let us minister the articles which my Lord hath left us unto. How say you, Master Philpot, to these articles ? Master Johnson, I pray you write his answers.

Philpot. Master Chancellor, you have no authority to inquire of me my belief in such articles as you go about, for that I am not of my Lord of London's diocese ; and to be brief with you, I will make no further answer herein, than I have already to the Bishop.

Chancellor. Why then, let us go our ways, and let his keeper take him away.

Thus endeth the seventh part of this tragedy.

After this the Bishop had several private conferences with this learned Archdeacon. An *eighth* public examination likewise took place before the Bishop of London, the Bishop of St. David's, and others, in the Bishop's chapel, at which nothing of consequence passed. About this period he wrote the following letter to a certain lady.

A Letter from Archdeacon PHILPOT to a Lady, encouraging her under the present evil Times.

The spirit of joy and rejoicing be with you, and be you comforted through his loving and comfortable leading and governance, and make continually joyful your unfeigned heart, my dearest sister in the Lord, against all the fiery temptations of the enemy in these our days by Jesus Christ our Saviour. Amen.

Praised and exalted be the name of our living God for the truth of his faithful promises, which he maketh his people to feel in the time of extremity, when they seem of the world to be forlorn and most miserable; such is the goodness of the omnipotency of our God, that he can and doth make to his elect sour sweet, and misery felicity. Wherefore it was not without cause that the Wise Man in his Proverbs writeth, "Whatsoever happeneth to a just person, it cannot make him sorrowful." All things work to good unto them which be good. Unrighteous we are, and wicked of ourselves, yea, when we have our gayest peacock's feathers on; but through Christ, on whom we believe, we are just, and in his goodness we are good, and hereby have daily experience of his mercy and loving kindness towards us in our afflictions and miseries, contrary to man's judgment.

Therefore let us always, as David did, put the Lord before us, and then shall we find as he said, that "he is on my right hand, and I shall not be moved." Sure it is, as St. Paul said, "if God be with us, who shall be against us?" as who would say that all that our enemies can do maketh for our glory, so long as we abide in God. What hurt had Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego by the fire, whilst the Lord walked with them? What annoyance had Daniel by the fierce lions in the dungeon, the

Lord being with him? So mighty is our Lord, and able, yea, and ready to comfort such as put their whole trust in him.

Therefore, mine own heart, be of good cheer in these cruel days, for these are to the increase of our glory; they that bring us low, do exalt us, and they that kill us do open the gates of eternal life. You by the Spirit of God wherewith your mind is endowed, do see that I say, and I by experience do feel it, praise be to God therefor. I cannot but lament the blindness or rather madness of the world, to see how they do abhor the prison of the body, in a most righteous cause, and little or nothing at all regard the prison of infidelity, in the which their soul is fettered most miserably, which is more horrible than all the prisons of the world. How much the soul is more precious than the body, so much is the captivity and misery of the soul more to be lamented than of the body. God therefore be blessed, which hath given your tender person to understand that the liberty of the soul surmounteth all the treasures of the world, and that the soul being free, nothing can be hurtful to the body. Hold fast this liberty, for this is the freedom of the children of God, by the which we pass without fear, both through fire and water. And where to the world those be terrible, to the elect they are joyous and full of glory.

God spake to Moses on the mount in fire, thunder, and storms, and the voice was so terrible to the people, that they trembled thereat, and wished that God would not speak unto them in such wise; but Moses' face, coming out of the same, was so bright that the children of Israel could not behold his face. Even so shall our faces be in the midst of our fiery forms, that our enemies shall hereafter never be able to behold the brightness of our countenance. And although we be made as black as the bottom of the

pot that hangeth over the fire, yet sure I am that we shall be made whiter than snow, and purer than silver or fine gold.

If we have to joy in any thing in this world, it is in tribulations, by the which we are certified to be the children of God, and inheritors of his everlasting kingdom. By this, saith St. John, we know the love of Christ towards us, that he gave his life for us. And by this we know we love him, that we are ready at his calling to yield our life for the testimony of his truth to our brothers, that they might have occasion to learn by our faithful example to esteem more the things of God, than of the world.

O may God increase this true faith in you! for I see you hereby to be in possession of heaven. Continually through hope behold the things that be not seen, but yet are hidden for our greater reward: and then shall not this noble faith perish, but grow to perfection and fruition of God. What though this sack of dung, which we carry about us, doth perish, and repine at this our pure faith, shall it discomfort us? No, truly, but make us more circum-spect and vigilant, that we be not overthrown in our right ways, since we have so familiar an enemy.

By faith we overcome, and he that overcometh shall be crowned. Therefore the assaults of the flesh and of the world, wherewith we are to be pressed as long as we live, ought to make us more diligent in spiritual things, and to be more desirous to be delivered out of this body of corruption. Happy be we that see the danger of our conflict, whereby we are admonished to beware, and to run to the strong hold of the name of the Lord our defence, to the which in all your temptations I do most heartily commit your faithful heart for ever.

As concerning mine own affairs, since I came to the Bishop's coal-house, I have been six times in

examination, twice before the spiritual Bishops, and once of late before a great many of the Lords of the council, before whom I have more frankly, I thank God, uttered my mind than I did any time before. The matter laid against me was, the disputation in the convocation-house two years past, concerning their idol, the mass, the which by all means they would have me recant; and I have answered, that if the clergy, that now rule the roast, can prove either their sacrament of the altar to be a sacrament, or else themselves to be of the true church of Christ, that I would be as conformable to their doings as they could desire. I look daily for my final judgment, which was promised me ere this, but I think now they will defer it till the end of the Parliament. God, in whose hands my life is, hasten the time in his good pleasure, and make me worthy of that great glory. You are as present with me, as I am with you. Christ give us a perfect fruition one of another in his kingdom. Our brethren, that be gone before us, do look for us. Hasten, O Lord, our redemption, and suffer us not to be overcome of evil. Amen.

Out of the Bishop's coal-house, whereof one Eleynty, dwelling in Paternoster Row, gaoler of Lollards' Tower, and another named Fountain, be keepers, the 13th of November.

Your own bowels in Jesus Christ,

JOHN PHILPOT.

*To my right well beloved, and the
very elect lady of God, which
hath chosen the better part, this
be delivered.*

*The ninth Examination of Muster PHILPOT before
Bishop Bonner and his Chaplains.*

In the morning of the next day I was called down betimes by my keepers, and brought again into the wardrobe, where I remained until the Bishop had heard his mass, and afterward he sent up for me into his inward parlour, and there he called for a chair to sit down, and brought his infamous libel of his forged articles in his hand, and sat down, willing me to draw near unto him, and said :

London. I am this day appointed to tarry at home from the Parliament-house, to examine you and your fellows upon these articles, and you stand dallying with me, and will neither answer to, nor fro. I wis, all your expectations will not serve you. Will it not be a fair honesty for you, think ye, that when thou comest before my Lord Mayor and the Sheriffs, and other worshipful audience, when I shall say before them all, that I have had thee these many times before me, and before so many learned men, and then thou couldest say nothing for that thou standest in, for all thy brags of learning, neither wouldest answer directly to any thing ?

Philpot. My Lord, I have told you my mind plain enough ; but yet I do not intend to lose that privilege the law giveth me, the which is free choice to answer where I am not bound ; and this privilege will I cleave unto, until I be compelled otherwise.

London. Well, I perceive you will play the obstinate fool. Lay thine appellation when thou comest in judgment, and answer in the mean while to these articles.

Philpot. No, my Lord, by your leave I will not answer to them, until my lawful appeal be tried.

London. Well, thou shalt hear them.—And with that he began to read them.

Philpot. I shrank back into the window, and looked on a book, and, after he had read them over, he said unto me :

London. I have read them over, although it hath not pleased you to hear me. I marvel in good faith, what thou meanest to be so wilful and stubborn, seeing thou mayest do well enough, if thou list. It is but a singularity ; dost thou not see all the realm against thee ?

Philpot. My Lord, I speak unto you in the witness of God, before whom I stand, that I am neither wedded to mine own will, neither stand upon mine own stubbornness or singularity, but upon my conscience instructed by God's word : and if Your Lordship can shew better evidence than I have for a good faith, I will follow the same.

London. What, thou wilt not, for all that ? Well, all that is past shall be forgotten, if thou be conformable unto us. I wis thou mightest find as much favour as thou wouldest desire.

Philpot. Then I, perceiving that he fawned so much upon me, thought it good to give him some comfort of my relenting, to the intent I might give him and his hypocritical generation openly a further foil, perceiving that they dare reason openly with none, but with such as be unlearned, and for lack of knowledge not able to answer, or else with such as they have a hope, that for fear or love of the world, will recant : I said, My Lord, it is not unknown to you, that I have openly in the audience of a great number stood to the maintenance of those opinions I am in, and by learning did offer to defend them ; therefore, my Lord, I would it might openly appear to the world, that I am won by learning, or else what will they say, but that, either for fear or love of the world, I am without any ground turned from the truth ? And, if I hear any kind of learn-

ing openly shewed, I will be as conformable as you may require me.

London. Yea, marry, now ye speak somewhat like a reasonable man. I wis you might have had a great deal more favour in my house, and liberty, than you have had; and you shall lack nothing that is within my house; call for it, and you shall have it. And what is it that you would openly by learning somewhat be satisfied in? tell me.

Philpot. My Lord, I have openly said, and do believe it also, that your sacrifice of the mass is no sacrament.

London. What, do you deny the presence of Christ in the sacrament?

Philpot. No, my Lord, I deny not the presence of Christ in the sacrament, but I have denied the sacrament of the altar, as it is used in your mass, to be the true sacrament of Christ's institution; and first it must be proved a sacrament, before there can be any presence granted.

London. Why, do you deny the mass to be a sacrament? I pray you, what is a sacrament? Is it not a sign of a holy thing, as St. Austin doth define it?

Philpot. Yes verily, that it is.

Lonaor. Then I make this argument unto you: a sacrament is the sign of a holy thing; but the mass is the sign of a holy thing, therefore, it is a sacrament.

Philpot. You must add this to your *major*, or first proposition, as St. Austin doth mean, that a sacrament is the sign of a holy institution of God, and commanded; for otherwise it can be no sacrament, for all men cannot make a sacrament.

London. I grant that; and such a sign of a holy thing is the mass of Christ's institution.

Philpot. I deny that, my Lord.

London. I will prove this by St. Austin by and by. I will go shew you the book, and you shall have any book I have that you will demand. Ho, who is without there? Call me Master Doctor Chedsey, M. Archdeacon, M. Cosins, and other chaplains hither.

Cosins. Here, my Lord. Master Doctor Chedsey is gone to Westminster, and M. Archdeacon was here even now.

London. Master Cosins, I pray you examine him upon these articles, and write his answers he maketh to every one of them. I will go examine his fellows, and send you St. Austin by and by. I find this man more conformable than he was before.

Cosins. I trust, my Lord, you shall find him at length a good catholic man. Marry, here be a sight of heresies; I dare say you will hold none of them, nor stand in any of them. How say you to the first?

Philpot. Master Cosins, I have told my Lord already, that I will answer to none of these articles he hath objected against me; but if you will with learning answer to that which is in question between my Lord and me, I will gladly hear, and commune with you.

Cosins. No, will you? Why, what is that then that is in question between my Lord and you?

Philpot. Whether your mass be a sacrament or no?

Cosins. What, the mass to be a sacrament? Who ever doubted thereof?

Philpot. If it be an undoubted truth, you may the sooner prove it; for I doubt much thereof.

Cosins. Why, I will prove it. It is the sign of a holy thing; therefore it is a sacrament.

Philpot. I deny your antecedent.

Cosins. What, will you so? Then there is no reasoning with you.

Thus Master Cosins gave over in the plain field for want of further proof. And then the morrow-mass chaplain began to speak for his occupation; and with that M. Harpsfield came out from my Lord with St. Austin's epistles, saying:

Harpsfield. My Lord hath sent you here St. Austin, to look upon, and I pray you look what he saith in a certain epistle which he writeth; I will read over the whole. Here you may hear the celebration of the mass, and how it reproveth them that went a hawking and hunting before the celebration of the same, on the sabbaths and holy days.

Philpot. I perceive the contents of this epistle, and I see nothing herein against me, neither any thing that maketh for the proof of your sacrament of the mass.

Harpsfield. No? doth he not make mention of the mass, and the celebration thereof? What can be spoken more plain?

Philpot. St. Austin meaneth of the celebration of the communion, and of the true use of the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, and not of your private mass, which you of late years have erected in the stead thereof; for this word "mass" hath been an old term attributed to the communion, even from the primitive church. And I pray you tell me what *missa* doth signify. I think not many that say mass can well tell.

Cosins. No? that is marvel.

Philpot. Then tell me if you can.—But Master Cosins and my morrow-mass chaplain were both dumb, looking upon Master Harpsfield for help, and at length he spake.

Harpsfield. You think it cometh of the Hebrew

word *massah*, as though none were seen in the Hebrew but you.

Philpot. I have not been so long to school, to derive the signification of *missa*, which is a Latin word, out of Hebrew: but I have learned to interpret Greek words by Greek, and Latin by Latin, and Hebrew by Hebrew; I take the communion to be called *missa*, a *mittendo*, of such things as at the celebration of the communion were sent by such as were of ability, to the relief of the poor, where the rich brought after their devotion and ability, and required the minister in the celebration of the communion to pray unto God for them, and to accept their common alms, which they at such times did send for the help of their poor brethren and sisters; and for this cause was it called *missa*, as learned men do witness. At the which celebration of the mass all that were present did communicate under both kinds, according to Christ's institution, as they did in St. Austin's time. But unless you can shew that your mass is used as then it was, ye shall never by the name of mass (which St. Austin attributeth to the true use of the communion) prove your private mass to be a sacrament, unless you can prove the same now to be in your masses as was then, which is clean contrary.

Harpsfield. What, deny you the mass to be a sacrament? for shame speak it not.

Philpot. I will not be ashamed to deny it, if you cannot prove it.

Harpsfield. Why, it is a sacrifice, which is more than a sacrament.

Philpot. You may make of it as much as you list: but you shall never make it a sacrifice, as you imagine thereof, but first it must be a sacrament, for of the sacrament you deduce your sacrifice.

Harpsfield. Why, doth not Christ say, "This is my

body?" And doth not the priest pronounce the same that Christ did?

Philpot. The pronounciation only is not enough, unless the words be therewithal applied to the use as Christ spake them to. For though ye speak the words of baptism over water never so many times, yet there is no baptism, unless there be a Christian person to be baptized.

Harpsfield. Nay, that is not like: for, *Hoc est corpus meum* is an indicative proposition, shewing a working of God in the substance of bread and wine.

Philpot. It is not only an indicative proposition, but also imperative or commanding. For he that saith, "This is my body," said also, "Take ye, eat ye." And except the former part of the institution of Christ's sacrament be accomplished according to the communion, the latter, "This is my body," can have no verification, take it which way you will, and how you will.

Morrow-mass Chaplain. Why, then you will make the sacrament to stand in the receiving, and that receiving maketh it a sacrament.

Philpot. I do not say, that the receiving only maketh it a sacrament; but I say, that a common receiving must needs be concurrent with the true sacrament, as a necessary member, without the which it cannot be a sacrament, because Christ hath made this a principal part of the sacrament, "Take ye, eat ye;" which you do not in your mass according to Christ's institution; wherefore, it can be no sacrament, for that it wanteth of Christ's institution.

Cosins. We do forbid none to come to it, but as many as list may be partakers with us at the mass, if they require it.

Philpot. Nay, that they shall not; though they require it, you will minister but one kind unto them, which is not after Christ's institution. Besides that, you ought, before you go to the mass, to exhort all that be present, to make a sacrifice of thanksgiving for Christ's passion with you, and exhort them to be partakers with you, according to Christ's commandment, saying unto all that be present, "Take ye, eat ye;" and likewise by preaching shewing forth the Lord's death, which you do not.

Cosins. What, if all things be done even as you would have it, and whilst the minister is about to minister the sacrament, before any have received it, there rise a sudden hurly-burly, that the communicants be compelled to go away: is it not a sacrament for all that none hath communicated besides the priest?

Philpot. In this case where all things are appointed to be done according to God's word, if incident necessary had not let, I cannot say but it is a sacrament, and that he which hath received, hath received the true sacrament.—After this, the morrow-mass priest made this apish reason:

The Morrow-mass Priest. If the sacrament of the mass be no sacrament, unless all do receive it, because Christ said, "Take ye, eat ye;" then the sacrament of baptism is no sacrament when there is but one baptized, because Christ said to his Apostles, "Go, preach the Gospel to all creatures, baptizing all nations in the name of the Father, &c."

Philpot. In that saying of Christ, "Baptizing all nations," is a commandment to the Apostles, to baptize all sorts of men, and to exclude none that believe, be he Gentile or Jew; not meaning all at once, for that were impossible. And there are many examples, that baptism may be singularly ministered

to one person, as we have example in Christ baptized of John, and in the eunuch baptized of Philip, with many more such like: but so have you not of the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, but contrariwise by the express words of St. Paul you are commanded to use it in a communion and participation of many together, (1 Cor. xi.) "As oft as ye come together to eat" (meaning the Lord's supper), "tarry one for another." And also the minister in the celebration of the sacrament speaketh unto all that be present in Christ's behalf, to communicate with him, saying, Take ye, and eat ye. Wherefore as many as be present and do not communicate, break God's commandment in not receiving the same; and the minister is no just minister, that doth not distribute the sacrament, as Christ did, to all that are present; and where God's word is transgressed, there is not Christ present, and consequently it is no sacrament.

Harpsfield. What, would you have it no sacrament without it be a communion?

Philpot. I make it not so, but God's express word teacheth me so, yea, also all the ancient writers, as St. Chrysostom writing upon the Epistle to the Ephesians, saith, that the oblation is vain, where none doth communicate with the priest. If by his judgment the action of the priest alone is in vain, where is no communion, how can that be a sacrament, which he called a vain oblation, and a vain standing at the altar?

Cosins. You are such another fellow as I have not heard, that will not have the mass to be a sacrament; you are no man for me to reason withal. Come, let us go (pointing to the morrow-mass chaplain): we will leave you, *Philpot* Archdeacon, and him together.—And so they went away. Afterwards the

Archdeacon fell into earnest persuasions with me, saying :

Harpsfield. Master Philpot, you and I have been of old acquaintance a long time ; we were school-fellows both in Winchester and in Oxford many years. Wherefore I must wish you as well to do as myself ; and, I pray you, so think of me.

Philpot. I thank you for your good will towards me. But if you be deceived (as I am sure you are), I shall desire you not to wish me deceived with you. For afore God I tell you plainly, you are highly deceived, and maintain false religion, and be not those to me you take yourselves for : and if you do not repent, and leave off your persecuting of Christ's truth, you will go to the devil for it. Therefore consider in time, I give you warning, for else in the day of judgment I shall be a witness against you, that I told you this here talking together.

Harpsfield. Fie, that is but your own vain singular opinion ; I perceive you are now still the man you were in Oxford.

Philpot. I trust you can report no notorious evil that ever you knew by me there.

Harpsfield. I can say no evil of your conversation, but I know you to be a studious man. Marry, if you remember when we met in disputation *in parvis*, you would not lightly give over, and for that cause I speak what I have said.

Philpot. Master Harpsfield, you know in the schools of Oxford, when we were young men, we did strive much upon vain glory, and upon contention, more than for the truth ; but now our years and our riper learning teach us to fall to a truth, which must be our portion for ever. And if I was then, in my time of ignorance, earnest in my own cause, I ought now to be earnest in my Master Christ's cause, and his truth. I know now that no-

thing done upon vain glory and singularity can please God, have it never so goodly a show : wherefore, I pray you, judge not so of me now.

Harpsfield. What, will you think yourself better learned than all the learned men in this realm ?

Philpot. My faith hangeth not upon the learned of the world, but upon the learning of God's word.

Harpsfield. Well, I will talk with you no more as now, but pray to God to open your heart.

Philpot. I pray God open both our hearts, to do more his will than we have done in times past.

Harpsfield. Ho, keeper, take him away with you.

Philpot. I pray you, Master Harpsfield, tell me what this pronoun (*Hoc*) doth demonstrate and shew, in this indicative proposition, as you call it, *Hoc est corpus meum*, "This is my body?"

Harpsfield. It demonstrates the substance of bread, which by the words spoken by the priest, and by the omnipotency of God, is turned into the substance of Christ's very body.

Philpot. Is the substance of the bread, as you say, turned into Christ's body ?

Harpsfield. Yea, that it is.

Philpot. Why, then, Christ's body receiveth daily a great increase of many thousand pieces of bread into his body, and that is his body become now, which was not before ; and by this you would seem to make, that there is an alteration in Christ's glorified body, which is a wicked thing to think.

Harpsfield. Then he fetched about again, and remembering better himself, and seeing the inconve- niency of his first assertion, of the transubstantiation of bread into Christ's body, he said, that the substance of bread, after the words spoken by the priest, was evacuated or vanished away by the omnipotency of God.

Philpot. This is another song than you sang first :

and here you may see how contrary you are to yourselves. For indeed your schoolmen do hold, that the very substance of bread is really turned into the substance of Christ's body. And now you, perceiving of late the inconvenience which is objected against you in that opinion, you are driven to imagine a new shift, and say, the substance of bread is evacuated, contrary to that your church hath first believed and taught. Oh! what contrariety is there among you, and all to deface the sincere truth!

Harpsfield. Is not God omnipotent? and cannot he do as he hath said?

Philpot. But his omnipotency will not do as you say, contrary to his word and to his honour. It is not God's honour to include him bodily into a piece of bread, and of necessity to tie him thereto. It is not God's honour for you to make a piece of bread God and man, which you see before your face doth putrefy after a certain time. Is not God's omnipotency as able to give his body with the sacramental bread, as to make so many turnings away of the bread, as you do, and that directly against the Scripture, which calleth it bread many times after the consecration? Are not you ashamed to make so many alterations of the Lord's holy institutions as you do, and to take away the substantial parts of the sacrament, as, "Take ye, eat ye, drink ye all of this; do ye this in remembrance of me:" and to place in their steads, "Hear ye, gaze ye, knock ye, worship ye, offer ye, sacrifice ye for the quick and the dead?" If this be not blasphemy to God and his sacraments, to add and to pluck away in this sort, and that contrary to the mind of all ancient writers, and contrary to the example of Christ, and all his Apostles, tell me.

Harpsfield. I know you have gathered the say-

ings of the Doctors together, which make for your purpose ; I will talk no longer with you.

Philpot. I pray God open both our hearts, to do more his will, than we have done in times past.

Harpsfield. Ho ! keeper, take him away with you.

After this a *tenth* examination took place, in which nothing new occurred : from his *eleventh* examination the following extract is given.

Extract from the eleventh Examination of JOHN PHILPOT, before the Bishops of London, Chichester, Durham, Master Morgan, and many others, at the Bishop of London's Palace.

Durham. How say you, will you believe as we do, and all the learned of the realm, or no, and be of one church with us ?

Philpot. My Lords, it is not unknown to you, that there have been always two churches.

Chichester. Nay, that is not so : for there is but one catholic church.

Philpot. I shall desire your Lordships to hear out my tale, and to take my meaning. For I know there is but one true church ; but always from the beginning there hath been joined to the same true church a false church, adversary to the true : and that was declared at the first in Abel and Cain, who persecuted and slew his brother, in whom (as St. Austin witnesseth) is represented the false and true church. And after that, as soon as God had chosen his peculiar people, and shewed unto them his sanctuary, holy statutes, and will, anon after arose the false church, and ten of the twelve tribes of Israel divided themselves from the true church of Judah and Benjamin, and made to themselves at Bethel and set up golden calves, and yet pretended therewith

to serve God, and so abused his word. Notwithstanding, God was displeased with them, and ceased not his wrath, until he had utterly destroyed them.

Chichester. I will grant you, before the coming of Christ there were two churches in the old law; but in the new law since Christ's coming, you cannot shew it so by the Scriptures.

Philpot. Yes, my Lord, that I can, if you will give me leave. After Christ had chosen his twelve Apostles, was there not a Judas in the new law, and a Simon Magus? And were not they of the false church?

Chichester. Yea, but I mean, after the Gospel was written, where can you find me two churches after Christ had ascended, and sent the Holy Ghost?

Philpot. The Gospel was within eight years after the ascension written by St. Matthew, and the writing thereof is not material to the declaration of these two churches to have been always from time to time, as by example it may be shewed: and yet as evil as my memory is, I remember in the New Testament is mention made of two churches, as it appeareth in the Revelations; and also St. Paul to the Thessalonians maketh mention that antichrist with his false generation shall sit in the temple of God.—To the which Chichester replied not.

Durham. The church in the Scripture is likened to a great fisher's net, which containeth in it both good fishes and bad fishes. I trust you will be of the better sort, and lean to the truth.

Philpot. My Lord, it is my whole desire now to follow that which is good, whatsoever I have done in times past, and to cleave to God's truth.

Durham. Do you so, and then shall you do well. It is almost night, my Lord of London; I must needs be gone.

London. Nay, my Lord of Durham, I must desire

your Lordship, and my Lord of Chichester, to tarry a little while.—And before he had so said, the Bishop of Bath went away, without saying any word.—What, my Lord of Bath, will you be gone? I pray you tarry. My Lords, I have earnest matters to charge this man withal, whereof I would your Lordships to be made privy, and I have them here written in a libel. I pray you sit down again, or else I will. First, I lay to him here, that he hath written in a Bible, which I took from him, this erroneous saying, *Quod Spiritus est vicarius Christi in terra*, “The Holy Ghost is Christ’s vicar in earth.” Wilt thou abide by this saying of thine, that the Spirit is Christ’s vicar on earth?

Philpot. My Lord, it is not my saying; it is a better learned man’s than mine: for I use not to write my own sayings, but the notable sayings of other ancient writers, as all the others be, where ye find the same written. And as I remember, it is even the saying of St. Bernard, and a saying that I need not to be ashamed of, neither you to be offended at, as my Lord of Durham and my Lord of Chichester by their learning can discern, and will not reckon it evil said.

London. No? Why, take away the first syllable, and it soundeth *arius*.

Philpot. That is far fetched indeed; if your Lordship will scan men’s sayings in such wise, you may find out what you list.

London. But to help this, I find moreover written with his own hand in another book, *In me Johanne Philpotto, ubi abundavit peccatum superabundavit et gratia*, that is, “In me John Philpot, where sin did abound, grace hath superabounded.” I pray you, what superabounding grace have you more than other men? So said Arius, that he had the abundance of grace above all others.

Philpot. My Lord, you need not to be offended with that saying more than the other, for it is the saying of St. Paul himself, and I did apply it to myself for my comfort, knowing that though my sins be huge and great in the sight of God, yet is his mercy and grace above them all. And concerning Arius and his adherents, I defy them, as it is well known I have written against them.

London. Also I lay to thy charge that thou killedst thy father, and wast accused of thy mother in her death-bed, as I can bring witness hereof.

Philpot. O Lord ! what blasphemy is this ! Hath your Lordship nothing of truth to charge me withal, but (as I may speak it with your honour) such forged, blasphemous lies ? If any of these can be proved, I will promise here to recant at Paul's cross, what you will have me : I am so sure they are so great blasphemies as may be objected against any man. Ha ! my Lords, I pray you consider how my Lord of London hath hitherto proceeded against me : for, indeed, he hath none other but such pretended, slanderous lies.

Morgan. Master Philpot, I would ask you how old your religion is ?

Philpot. It is older than yours by a thousand years and more.

Morgan. I pray you, where was it fifty years ago ?

Philpot. It was in Germany apparent by the testimony of Huss, Hierome of Prague, and Wickliffe, whom your generation an hundred years ago and more, did burn for preaching the truth unto you : and before their time and since hath been, although under persecution it hath been put to silence.

Morgan. That is a marvellous strange religion, which no man can tell certainly where to find it.

Philpot. It ought to be no marvel unto you to see

God's truth through violence oppressed ; for so it hath been from the beginning, from time to time, as it appeareth by history ; and as Christ's true religion is now to be found here in England, although hypocrisy hath by violence the upper hand. And in the Revelations you may see it was prophesied, that the true church should be driven into corners, and into wildernesses, and suffer great persecutions.

Morgan. Ah ! are you seen in the Revelations ? there are many strange things.

Philpot. If I tell you the truth, which you are not able to repel, believe it, and dally not out so earnest matters : methink you are more like a scoffer in a play, than a reasonable doctor to instruct a man ; you dance naked in a net, and you see not your own nakedness.

Morgan. What, I pray you ? be not so quick with me ; let us talk a little more coolly together.

Philpot. I will talk with you as mildly as you can desire, if you will speak learnedly and charitably ; but if you go about with taunts to delude the truth, I will not hide it from you.

Morgan. Why will not you submit your judgment to the learned men of this realm ?

Philpot. Because I see they can bring no good ground, whereupon I may with good conscience settle my faith more surely than on that, which I am now grounded upon by God's manifest word.

Morgan. No ? That is marvel, that so many learned men should be deceived.

Philpot. It is no marvel by St. Paul, for he saith, that " not many wise, neither many learned, after the world, be called to the knowledge of the Gospel."

Morgan. Have you alone the spirit of God, and not we ?

Philpot. I say not that I alone have the spirit of

God, but as many as abide in the true faith of Christ, have the spirit of God as well as I.

Morgan. How know you that you have the spirit of God?

Philpot. By the faith of Christ, which is in me.

The thirteenth Examination of Master PHILPOT, before the Archbishop of York, and divers other Bishops.

The Thursday after, I was called in the morning before the Archbishop of York, the Bishop of Chichester, the Bishop of Bath, the Bishop of London. The Bishop of Chichester being first come, began to talk with me.

Chichester. I am come of good-will to talk with you, to instruct you what I can, to come to the catholic church, and to will you to instruct your own judgment, and to learn, first to have humility, and by the same to learn of others that be better learned than you, as they did learn of such as were their betters before them.

Philpot. We must all be taught of God; and I will with all humility learn of them that will inform me, by God's word, what I have to do. I confess I have but little learning in respect of you, that, both of your years and great exercise, do excel therein; but faith consisteth not only in learning, but in simplicity of believing that which God's word teacheth. Therefore I will be glad to hear both of your Lordship, and of any others (that God hath revealed unto by his word), the true doctrine thereof, and to thank you, that it doth please you to take pains herein.

Chichester. You take the first alleged amiss, as though all men should be taught by inspiration, and not by learning. How do we believe the Gospel,

but by the authority of the church, and because the same hath allowed it?

Philpot. St. Paul saith, he “learned not the Gospel by men, neither of men, but by the revelation of Jesus Christ.” Which is a plain and sufficient proof that the Gospel taketh not its authority of man, but of God only.

Chichester. St. Paul speaketh but of his own knowledge how he came thereto.

Philpot. Nay, he speaketh of the Gospel generally, which cometh not from man but from God; and that the church must only teach that which cometh from God, and not man’s precepts.

Chichester. Doth not St. Austin say, “I would not believe the Gospel, if the authority of the church did not move me thereto?”

Philpot. I grant that the authority of the church doth move the unbelievers to believe; but yet the church giveth not the word its authority: for the word hath its authority only from God, and not of men; men be but the disposers thereof. For, first, the word hath its being before the church, and the word is the foundation of the church; and first is the foundation sure, before the building thereon can be steadfast.

Chichester. I perceive you mistake me; I speak of the knowledge of the Gospel, and not of the authority; for by the church we have all knowledge of the Gospel.

Philpot. I confess that: for “faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the word of God.” And I acknowledge that God appointeth an ordinary means for men to come unto the knowledge now, and not miraculously, as he hath done in times past; yet we that be taught by men, must take heed that we learn nothing else but that which was taught in the primitive church by revelation.—Here

came in the Bishop of York and the Bishop of Bath, and after they had saluted one another, and communed awhile together, the Archbishop of York called me unto them, saying,

York. Sir, we, hearing that you are out of the way, are come of charity to inform you, and to bring you into the true faith, and to the catholic church again; willing you first to have humility, and to be humble and willing to learn of your betters, for else we can do no good with you. And God saith by his prophet, "On whom shall I rest, but on the humble and meek, and such as tremble at my word?" Now if you will so be, we will be glad to travail with you.

Philpot. I know that humility is the door whereby we enter unto Christ; and I thank his goodness I have entered in at the same unto him, and with all humility will hear whatsoever truth you shall speak unto me.

York. What be the matters you stand on, and require to be satisfied in?

Philpot. My Lord, if it shall please your Grace, we were entered into a good matter before you came, of the church, and how we should know the truth but by the church.

York. Indeed, that is the head we need to begin at; for, the church being truly known, we shall sooner agree in the particular things.

Philpot. If your Lordship can prove the church of Rome to be the true catholic church, it shall do much to persuade me toward that you would have me inclined unto.

York. Why, let us go to the definition of the church. What is it?

Philpot. It is a congregation of people dispersed throughout the world, agreeing together in the

word of God, using the sacraments and all other things according to the same.

York. Your definition is of many words to no purpose.

Philpot. I do not precisely define the church, but declare unto you what I think the church is.

York. Is the church visible or invisible?

Philpot. It is both visible and invisible. The invisible church is the elect of God only; the visible consists both of good and bad, using all things in faith, according to God's word.

York. The church is an universal congregation of faithful people in Christ through the world; which this word, "Catholic," doth well express; for what is "Catholic" else? Doth it not signify universal?

Philpot. The church is defined by St. Austin to be called catholic in this wise, *Ecclesia ideo dicitur catholica, quia universaliter perfecta est, et in nullo claudicat*: "The church is called therefore, catholic, because it is thoroughly perfect, and halteth in nothing."

York. Nay, it is called catholic, because it is universally received of all Christian nations for the most part.

Philpot. The church was catholic in the Apostles' time, yet was it not universally received of the world; but because their doctrine which they had received of Christ was perfect, and appointed to be preached and received of the whole world, therefore it is called the catholic faith, and all persons receiving the same, to be counted the catholic church. And St. Austin in another place writeth, that the catholic church is that which believeth aright.

York. If you will learn, I will shew you by St. Austin, writing against the Donatists, that he proveth the catholic church by two principal points,

which is, universality and succession of bishops in one apostolic see from time to time. Now thus I will make mine argument :

The church of Rome is universal, and hath her succession of bishops from time to time: therefore it is the catholic church.

How answer you to this argument ?

Philpot. I deny the antecedent, that the catholic church is only known by universality and succession of bishops.

York. I will prove it.—And with that he brought forth a book, which he had noted out of the doctors, and turned to his common places therein of the church, and recited one or two out of St. Austin, and specially out of his epistle written against the Donatists, where St. Austin manifestly proveth, that the Donatists were not the catholic church, because they have no succession of bishops in their opinion, neither universality. And the same force hath St. Austin's argument against you.

Philpot. My Lord, I have weighed the force of that argument before now, and I perceive it maketh nothing against me, neither cometh it to your purpose : for I will stand to the trial of St. Austin for the approbation of the catholic church whereof I am. For St. Austin speaketh of universality joined with verity, and of faithful successors of Peter before corruption came into the church. And so if you can deduce your argument for the See of Rome now, as St. Austin might do in his time, I would say it might be of some force, otherwise not.

York. St. Austin proveth the catholic church principally by succession of bishops, and therefore you understand not St. Austin. For what, I pray you, was the opinion of the Donatists against whom he wrote, can you tell ? What country were they of ?

Philpot. They were a certain set of men, affirming, among other heresies, that the dignity of the sacrament depended upon the worthiness of the minister ; so that, if the minister were good, the sacraments which he ministered were available, or else not.

Chichester. That was their error, and they had none other but that.—And he read another authority of St. Austin out of a book which he brought, even to the same purpose the other was.

Philpot. I challenge St. Austin to be with me thoroughly in this point, and will stand to his judgment, taking one place with another.

Chichester. If you will not have the church to be certain, I pray you by whom will you be judged in matters of controversy ?

Philpot. I do not deny the church to be certain ; but I deny that it is necessarily tied to any place, longer than it abideth in the word ; and for all controversies the word ought to be judge.

Chichester. But what if I take it one way, and you another ; how then ?

Philpot. St. Austin sheweth a remedy for that, and willeth, *Quod unus locus per plura intelligi debeat*, that one place of the Scripture ought to be understood by the more.

York. How answer you to this argument : Rome hath a known succession of bishops, which your church hath not.

Therefore, that is the catholic church, and yours is not, because there is no such succession can be proved in your church.

Philpot. I deny, my Lord, that succession of bishops is an infallible point to know the church by : for there may be a succession of bishops known in a place, and yet there be no church, as at Antioch and Jerusalem, and in other places, where the Apos-

cles abode as well as at Rome. But if you put to the succession of bishops succession of doctrine withal (as St. Austin doth), I will grant it to be a good proof for the catholic church ; but a local succession only is nothing available.

York. You will have no church then, I see well.

Philpot. Yes, my Lord, I acknowledge the catholic church, as I am bound by my creed ; but I cannot acknowledge a false church for the true.

Chichester. Why, are there two catholic churches then ?

Philpot. No ; I know there is but one catholic church ; but there have been, and be at this present, that take upon them the name of Christ and of his church, which be not so indeed ; as it is written, " There be that call themselves Apostles, and be not so indeed, but the synagogue of Satan and liars." And now it is with us, as it was with the two women in Solomon's time, which lay together, and the one suppressed her child, and afterward went about to challenge the true mother's child.

Chichester. What a babbling is here with you now ! I see you lack humility. You will go about to teach, and not to learn.

Philpot. My Lords, I must desire you to bear with my hasty speech ; it is my infirmity of nature. All that I speak is to learn by. I would you did understand all my mind, that I might be satisfied by you through better authority.

Chichester. My Lord, if it please Your Grace, turn the argument upon him which you have made, and let him shew the succession of the bishops of his church, as we can do. How say you, can you shew the succession of bishops in your church from time to time ? I tell you, this argument troubled Doctor Ridley so sore, that he could never answer

it; yet he was a man well learned, I dare say you will say so.

Philpot. He was a man so learned, that I was not worthy to carry his books for learning.

Chichester. I promise you, he was never able to answer that. He was a man that I loved well, and he me; for he came unto me divers times, being in prison, and conferred with me.

Philpot. I wonder, my Lord, you should make this argument which you would turn upon me for the trial of my church whereof I am, or that you would make Bishop Ridley so ignorant, that he was not able to answer it, since it is of no force. For behold, first I denied you, that local succession of bishops in one place is a necessary point alone to prove the catholic church by, and that which I have denied you cannot prove: and is it then reason that you should put me to the trial of that, which by you is unproved, and of no force to conclude against me?

Chichester. I see, my Lords, we do but lose our labour to reason with him; he taketh himself better learned than we.

Philpot. I take upon me the name of no learning, I boast of no knowledge, but of faith and of Christ, and that I am bound undoubtedly to know as I am sure I do.

Chichester. These heretics take upon them to be sure of all things they stand in. You should say rather with humility, I trust I know Christ, than that you be sure thereof.

Philpot. Let him doubt of his faith that listeth; God give me always grace to believe, that I am sure of true faith and favour in Christ.

Bath. How will you be able to answer heretics, but by the determination of the known catholic church?

Philpot. I am able to answer all heretics by the word of God, and convince them by the same.

Chichester. How arrogantly is that spoken! I dare not say so.

Philpot. My Lord, I pray you bear with me; for I am bold on the truth's side, and I speak somewhat by experience that I have had with heretics; and I know the Arians be the subtlest that ever were, and yet I have manifest Scriptures to beat them down withal.

Chichester. I perceive now you are the same manner of man I have heard of, which will not be satisfied by learning.

Philpot. Alas! my Lord, why do you say so? I do most humbly desire to be taught, if there be any better way that I should learn, and hitherto you have shewed me no better, therefore I pray your Lordship not to misjudge without a cause.

Bath. If you be of the true catholic church, then will you hold with the real presence of Christ in the sacrament, which the true church have ever maintained.

Philpot. And I, my Lord, with the true church do hold the same in the due ministration of the sacrament: but I desire you, my Lord, there may be made a better conclusion in our first matter, before we enter into any other; for if the church be proved, we shall soon agree in the rest.—In the mean while my Lord of York was turning his book for more places to help for his cause.

York. I have found at length a very notable place, which I have looked for all this while, of St. Austin, *De simplicitate credendi.*

Chichester. It is but folly, my Lord, that your Grace do read him any more places, for he esteemeth them not.

Philpot. I esteem them, inasmuch as they be of force, as your Lordship doth hear me deny no doctors you bring, but only require the due application of them, according to the writer's meaning, and as by his own words may be proved.

York. I will read him the place, and so make an end.—After he had read the sentence, he said that by four special points here St. Austin proveth the catholic church. The first is, by the consent of all nations; the second, by the Apostolic See; the third, by universality; and the fourth, by this word “catholic.”

Chichester. That is a notable place indeed, if it please your Grace.

Philpot. I pray you, my Lord, of what church doth St. Austin write the same, of Rome, or not?

York. Yea, he writeth it of the church of Rome.

Philpot. I will lay with your Lordship as much as I can make, it is not so; and let the book be seen.

Bath. What art thou able to lay? thou hast nothing.

York. Doth he not make mention here of the Apostolic See, whereby he meaneth Rome?

Philpot. That is very straitly interpreted, my Lord, as though the Apostolic See had been no where else but at Rome. But let it be Rome, and yet you shall never verify the same, unless all the other conditions do go therewith, as St. Austin doth proceed withal, whereof none, except the Apostolic See, can now be verified of the church of Rome. For the faith which that See now maintaineth hath not the consent of all nations, neither hath had. Besides that, it cannot have the name of catholic; because it differeth from the catholic churches which the Apostles planted, almost in all things.

York. Nay, he goeth about here to prove the catholic church by universality ; and how can you shew your church to be universal, fifty or an hundred years ago?

Philpot. That is not material, neither any thing against St. Austin : for my church (whereof I am) were to be accounted universal, though it were but in ten persons, because it agreeth with the same that the Apostles did universally plant.

York. I perceive you are an obstinate man in your opinion, and will not be taught ; wherefore it is but lost labour to talk with you any longer ; you are a member to be cut off.

Chichester. I have heard of you before, how you troubled the good Bishop of Winchester, and now I see in you that I have heard.

Philpot. I trust you see no evil in me by this : I desire of you a sure ground to build my faith on, and if you shew me none, I pray you speak not ill of him that meaneth well.

Chichester. Thou art as impudent a fellow as I have communed withal.

Philpot. That is spoken uncharitably, my Lord, to blaspheme him whom you cannot justly reprove.

Chichester. Why, you are not God ; blasphemy is counted a rebuke to God-ward, and not to man.

Philpot. Yes, that it may be as well verified of an infamy laid to man, speaking in God's cause, as you now do lay unto me, for speaking freely the truth afore God, to maintain your vain religion. You are void of all good ground. I perceive you are blind guides, and leaders of the blind, and therefore (as I am bound to tell you) very hypocrites, tyrannously persecuting the truth, which otherwise by just order you are by no means able to convince. Your own doctors, and testimonies which you bring, be evidently against you, and yet you will not see the truth.

Chichester. Have we this thank for our good will coming to instruct thee?

Philpot. My Lords, you must bear with me, since I speak in Christ's cause; and because his glory is defaced, and his people cruelly and wrongfully slain by you, because they will not consent to the dishonour of God, and to hypocrisy with you; if I told you not your fault, it would be required at my hands at the day of judgment. Therefore know you, ye hypocrites indeed, that it is the Spirit of God that telleth you your sins, and not I; I pass not, I thank God, of all your cruelty. God forgive it you, and give you grace to repent.—And so they departed.

Thirteen of these examinations were penned by the hand of Archdeacon Philpot himself. Several more close examinations followed: of such learning, weight, and consequence did the Popish party esteem him to be.

As the last of his examinations was drawing to a conclusion, and whilst they were debating the matter, there came thither Sir William Garret, Knt. then Mayor of London; Sir Martin Bowes, Knt.; and Thomas Leigh, then Sheriff of the same city, and sat down with the said Bishops in the said consistory, where and at what time Bishop Bonner spake these words in effect as followeth:

London. Philpot, before the coming of my Lord Mayor, because I would not enter with you into the matters wherewith I have heretofore, and now intend to charge you withal, until his coming, I did rehearse unto you a prayer, both in English and in Latin, which Bishop Stokely, my predecessor, used when he intended to proceed to give sentence against an heretic.

And here he did again read the same prayer, both

in English and also in Latin : which being ended, he spake again unto him, and said : Philpot, among others, I have specially to charge you with three things.

First, where you have fallen from the unity of Christ's catholic church, you have thereupon been invited and required, not only by me, but also by many and divers other catholic Bishops, and other learned men, to return and come again to the same : and also you have been offered by me, that if you would so return, and confess your errors and heresies, you should be mercifully received, and have so much favour as I could shew unto you.

The second is, that you have blasphemously spoken against the sacrifice of the mass, calling it idolatry and abomination.

And thirdly, that you have spoken and holden against the sacrament of the altar, denying the real presence of Christ's body and blood to be in the same.

This being spoken, the Bishop recited unto him a certain exhortation in English, the tenor and form whereof is this.

Bishop Bonner's Exhortation.

Master Philpot, this is to be told you, that if you, not being yet reconciled to the unity of the catholic church, from whence ye did fall in the time of the late schism here in this realm of England, against the See Apostolic of Rome, will now heartily and obediently be reconciled to the unity of the same catholic church, professing and promising to observe and keep to the best of your power the faith and Christian religion observed and kept of all faithful people of the same : and moreover, if ye which heretofore, especially in the year of our Lord 1553, 1554, 1555, or in one of them, have offended and trespassed grievously against the sacrifice of the mass,

calling it idolatry and abominable, and likewise have offended and trespassed against the sacrament of the altar, denying the real presence of Christ's body and blood to be there in the sacrament of the altar, affirming also withal, material bread, and material wine, to be in the sacrament of the altar, and not the substance of the body and blood of Christ; if ye, I say, will be reconciled as is aforesaid, and will forsake your heresies and errors before touched, being heretical and damnable, and will also allow the sacrament of the mass, ye shall be mercifully received, and charitably used with as much favour as may be; if not, ye shall be reputed, taken, and judged for an heretic, as ye be indeed. Now do you choose what ye will do; you are counselled herein friendly and favourably.

So declareth Edmund, Bishop of London.

The Bishop's exhortation thus ended, Master Philpot turned himself unto the Lord Mayor, and said;

Philpot. To you, my Lord Mayor, bearing the sword, I am glad that it is my chance now to stand before that authority, that hath defended the Gospel and the truth of God's word; but I am sorry to see that that authority, which representeth the King and Queen's persons, should now be changed, and be at the commandment of Antichrist; and ye (speaking to the Bishops) pretend to be the followers of the Apostles of Christ, and yet be the very Antichrists, and deceivers of the people; and I am glad that God hath given me power to stand here this day, and to declare and to defend my faith, which is founded on Christ.

Therefore as touching your first oblation, I say that I am of the catholic church, whereof I was never out, and that your church (which ye pretend to be

the catholic church) is the church of Rome, and so the Babylonical, and not the catholic church; of that church I am not.

As touching your second objection, which is, that I should speak against the sacrifice of the mass, I do say, that I have not spoken against the true sacrifice, but I have spoken against your private masses that you use in corners, which is blasphemy to the true sacrifice; for your sacrifice daily reiterated is a blasphemy against Christ's death, and it is a lie of your own invention: and that abominable sacrifice which ye set upon the altar, and use in your private masses instead of the living sacrifice, is idolatry, and ye shall never prove it by God's word; therefore ye have deceived the people with that your sacrifice of the mass, which ye make a masking.

Thirdly, where you lay to my charge, that I deny the body and blood of Christ to be in the sacrament of the altar, I cannot tell what altar ye mean, whether it be the altar of the cross, or the altar of stone: and if ye call it the sacrament of the altar in respect of the altar of stone, then I defy your christ, for it is a rotten christ.

And as touching your transubstantiation, I utterly deny it, for it was brought up first by a Pope. Now as concerning your offer made from the synod, which is gathered together in Antichrist's name, prove me that to be of the catholic church (which ye shall never do), and I will follow you, and do as you would have me to do. But ye are idolaters, and daily do commit idolatry. Ye be also traitors, for in your pulpits you do rail upon good Kings, as King Henry, and King Edward his son, which have stood against the usurped power of the Bishop of Rome; against whom also I have taken an oath, which if ye can shew me by God's law that I have taken unjustly, I will then yield unto you: but I pray God turn the

King and Queen's heart from your synagogue and church, for you do abuse that good Queen.

Here the Bishop of Coventry and Litchfield began to shew where the true church was, saying :

Coventry. The true catholic church is set upon an high hill.

Philpot. Yea, at Rome, which is the Babylonical church.

Coventry. No ; in our true catholic church are the Apostles, Evangelists, and Martyrs ; but before Martin Luther there was no Apostle, Evangelist, or Martyr, of your church.

Philpot. Will ye know the cause why ? Christ did prophesy, that in the latter days there should come false prophets and hypocrites, as you be.

Coventry. Your church of Geneva, which ye call the catholic church, is that church which Christ prophesied of.

Philpot. I allow the church of Geneva, and the doctrine of the same ; for it is one, catholic, and apostolic, and doth follow the doctrine that the Apostles did preach ; and the doctrine taught and preached in King Edward's days was also according to the same. And are ye not ashamed to persecute me and others for your church's sake, which is Babylonical, and contrary to the true catholic church ?

And after this they had great conference together, as well out of the Scriptures, as also out of the doctors. But when Bonner saw that by learning they were not able to convince Master Philpot, he thought then by his defamations to bring him out of credit ; and therefore, turning himself unto the Lord Mayor of London, he brought forth a knife, and a bladder full of powder, and said :

London. My Lord, this man had a roasted pig brought unto him, and this knife was put secretly

between the skin and the flesh thereof, and so it was sent him being in prison. And also this powder was sent unto him, under pretence that it was good and comfortable for him, to eat or drink; which powder was only to make ink to write withal. For when his keeper did perceive it, he took it and brought it unto me; which when I did see, I thought it had been gunpowder, and thereupon I put fire to it, but it would not burn. Then I took it for poison, and so gave it to a dog, but it was not so. Then I took a little water, and it made as fair ink as ever I did write withal. Therefore, my Lord, you may understand what a naughty fellow this is.

Philpot. Ah, my Lord, have ye nothing else to charge me withal but these trifles, seeing I stand upon life and death? Doth the knife in the pig prove the church of Rome to be a catholic church; &c.?

Then the Bishop brought forth a certain instrument, containing articles and questions, agreed upon both in Oxford and Cambridge, whereof you have mention before. Also he did exhibit two books in print; the one was the Catechism made in King Edward's days, anno 1552; the other concerning the true report of the disputation in the convocation-house, mention whereof is above expressed.

Several books, letters, supplications, and other matters being then read, the Bishop demanded of him, if the book entitled, *The true Report of the Disputation*, &c. were of his penning or not? Whereunto Philpot answered, that it was a good and true book, and of his own penning and setting forth.

The Bishop waxing now weary, and being not able by any sufficient ground, either of God's word, or of the true ancient catholic fathers, to convince and to overcome him, fell by fair and flattering speech to persuade with him, promising, that if he

would revoke his opinions, and come home again to their Romish and Babylonical church, he should not only be pardoned that which was past, but also they would with all favour and cheerfulness of heart receive him again as a true member thereof: which words, when Bonner saw would take no place, he demanded of Master Philpot (and that with a charitable affection I warrant you) whether he had any just cause to allege why he should not condemn him as an heretic. Well, quoth Master Philpot, your idolatrous sacrament which ye have found out, ye would fain defend, but ye cannot, nor ever shall.

In the end the Bishop, seeing his unmoveable steadfastness in the truth, did pronounce openly the sentence of condemnation against him. In the reading thereof, when he came to those words, "Thee, an heretical, obstinate, pertinacious, and unrepenting man," Master Philpot said, "I thank God that I am an heretic out of your accursed church; I am no heretic before God. But God bless you, and give you once grace to repent of your wicked doings, and let all men beware of your bloody church."

Moreover, while Bonner was about the midst of the sentence, the Bishop of Bath pulled him by the sleeve, and said; "My Lord, my Lord, know of him first whether he will recant or no." Then Bonner said (full like himself), "O, let him alone;" and so read forth the sentence.

And when he had done, he delivered him to the Sheriffs; and so two officers brought him through the Bishop's house into Paternoster Row, and there his servant met him, and when he saw him, he said, "Ah, dear master!"

Then Master Philpot said to his man, "Content thyself, I shall do well enough, for thou shalt see me again."

And so the officers thrust him away, and had his

master to Newgate ; and as he went, he said to the people, “ Ah ! good people, blessed be God for this day ;” and so the officers delivered him to the keeper. Then his man thrust to go in after his master ; and one of the officers said unto him, “ Hence, fellow ; what wouldest thou have ?” And he said, “ I would go speak with my master.” Master Philpot then turned him about, and said to him, “ To-morrow thou shalt speak with me.”

Then the under-keeper said to Master Philpot, “ Is this your man ?” And he said, “ Yea.” So he did license his man to go in with him, and Master Philpot and his man were turned into a little chamber, on the right hand, and there remained a little time, until Alexander, the chief keeper, did come unto him, who at his entering greeted him with these words :

“ Ah,” said he, “ hast not thou done well to bring thyself hither ?”—“ Well,” said Master Philpot, “ I must be content, for it is God’s appointment ; and I shall desire you to let me have your gentle favour ; for you and I have been of old acquaintance.”—“ Well,” said Alexander, “ I will shew thee gentleness and favour, so thou wilt be ruled by me.”—“ Then,” said Master Philpot, “ I pray you shew me what you would have me to do.”

He said, “ If you would recant, I will shew you any pleasure I can.”—“ Nay,” said Master Philpot, “ I will never recant, whilst I have my life, that which I have spoken, for it is most certain truth, and in witness whereof I will seal it with my blood.” Then Alexander said, “ This is the saying of the whole pack of you heretics.” Whereupon he commanded him to be set upon the block, and as many irons upon his legs as he could bear, for that he would not follow his wicked mind.

Then the clerk told Alexander in his ear, that

Master Philpot had given his man money. And Alexander said to his man, "What money hath thy master given thee?" He answered, "My master hath given me none."—"No!" said Alexander, "hath he given thee none? that will I know, for I will search thee."—"Do with me what you list, and search me all that you can," quoth the servant; "he hath given me a token or two to send to his friends, as to his brother and sister."—"Ah!" said Alexander to Master Philpot, "thou art a maintainer to heretics; thy man should have gone to some of thine affinity, but he shall be known well enough."—"Nay," said Master Philpot, "I do send it to my friends; there he is, let him make answer to it. But, good Master Alexander, be so much my friend, that these irons may be taken off."—"Well," said Alexander, "give me my fees, and I will take them off; if not, thou shalt wear them still."

Then said Master Philpot, "Sir, what are your fees?" He said, four pound was his fee.—"Ah," said Master Philpot, "I have not so much; I am but a poor man, and I have been long in prison."—"What wilt thou give me then?" said Alexander. "Sir," said he, "I will give you twenty shillings, and that I will send my man for, or else I will lay my gown to gage, for the time is not long (I am sure) that I shall be with you; for the Bishop said unto me that I should be soon dispatched."

Then said Alexander unto him, "What is that to me?" and with that he departed from him, and commanded him to be had into prison, and so his commandment was fulfilled; but before he could be taken from the block, the clerk would have a groat.

Then one Witterence, steward of the house, took him on his back, and carried him down, his man knew not whither. Wherefore Master Philpot said to his man, "Go to Master Sheriff, and shew

him how I am used, and desire Master Sheriff to be good unto me ;” and so his servant went straight-way, and took an honest man with him.

And when they came to Master Sheriff (which was Master Macham), and shewed him how Master Philpot was handled in Newgate, the Sheriff hearing this took his ring from off his finger, and delivered it unto that honest man which came with Master Philpot’s man, and bad him go unto Alexander the keeper, and commanded him to take off his irons, and to handle him more gently, and to give his man again that which he had taken from him. And when they were come again to the said Alexander, and told their message from the Sheriff, Alexander took the ring, and said, “ Ah, I perceive that Master Sheriff is a bearer with him, and all such heretics as he is ; therefore to-morrow I will shew it to his betters :” yet at ten of the clock he went into Master Philpot where he lay, and took off his irons, and gave him such things as he had taken before from his servant.

Upon Tuesday at supper, being the seventeenth day of December, there came a messenger from the Sheriffs, and bade Master Philpot make him ready, for the next day he should suffer, and be burned at a stake with fire. Master Philpot answered and said, “ I am ready ; God grant me strength, and a joyful resurrection.” And so he went into his chamber, and poured out his spirit unto the Lord God, giving him most hearty thanks that he of his mercy had made him worthy to suffer for his truth.

In the morning the Sheriffs came according to the order, about eight of the clock, and called for him, and he most joyfully came down unto them, and there his man did meet him, and said, “ Ah, dear master, farewell :” his Master said unto him, “ Serve God, and he will help thee.” And so he

went with the Sheriffs to the place of execution; and when he was entering into Smithfield, the way was foul, and two officers took him up to bear him to the stake. Then he said merrily, "What, ye will make me a Pope? I am content to go to my journey's end on foot." But first coming into Smithfield, he kneeled down there, saying these words; "I will pay my vows in thee, O Smithfield."

And when he came to the place of suffering, he kissed the stake, and said, "Shall I disdain to suffer at this stake, seeing my Redeemer did not refuse to suffer most vile death upon the cross for me?" And then, with an obedient heart, full meekly he said the 106th, 107th, and 108th Psalms: and when he had made an end of all his prayers, he said to the officers, "What have you done for me?" And every one of them declared what they had done; and he gave to every one of them money.

Then they bound him to the stake, and set fire to that constant martyr, who the eighteenth day of December, in the midst of the fiery flames, yielded his soul into the hands of Almighty God, and full like a lamb gave up his breath, his body being consumed into ashes.

Thus hast thou (gentle reader) the life and doings of this learned man and worthy soldier of the Lord, John Philpot; with his examinations as they came to our hands: first penned and written with his own hand, being marvellously preserved from the sight and hand of his enemies; who by all manner of means sought not only to stop him from all writing, but also to spoil and deprive him of that which he had written. For the which cause he was many times stripped and searched in the prison of his keeper: but yet so happily these his writings were conveyed and hid in places about him, or else his

keeper's eyes so blinded, that, notwithstanding all this malicious purpose of the Bishop, they are yet remaining, and come to light.

Here follow others of his writings.

A Prayer to be said at the Stake of all them that God shall account worthy to suffer for his Sake. By
JOHN PHILPOT.

Merciful God and Father, to whom our Saviour Christ approached in his fear and need by reason of death, and found comfort ; gracious God and most bounteous Christ, on whom Stephen called in his extreme need, and received strength ; most benign Holy Spirit, which in the midst of all crosses of death didst comfort the Apostle Paul, with more consolations in Christ, than he felt sorrows and terrors ; have mercy upon me, miserable, vile, and wretched sinner, who now draw near the gates of death, deserved both in soul and body eternally, by reason of manifold, horrible, old and new transgressions, which to thine eyes, O Lord, are open and known : oh ! be merciful unto me, for the bitter death and blood-shedding of thine only Son Jesus Christ.

And though thy justice do require (in respect of my sins) that now thou shouldest not hear me, measuring me in the same measure I have measured thy majesty, contemning thy daily calls ; yea, let thy mercy, which is above all thy works, and wherewith the earth is filled, let thy mercy (I say) prevail towards me, through and for the mediation of Christ our Saviour. And for whose sake in that it hath pleased thee to bring me forth now as one of his witnesses, and a record-bearer of thy verity and truth taught by him, to give my life therefor (to which dignity

I do acknowledge, dear God, that there was never any so unworthy and so unmeet, no, not the thief that hanged with him on the cross) : I most humbly therefore pray thee that thou wouldest accordingly aid, help, and assist me with thy strength and heavenly grace, that with Christ thy Son I may find comfort ; with Stephen I may see thy presence and gracious power ; with Paul, and all others which for thy name sake have suffered affliction and death, I may find so present with me thy gracious consolations, that I may by my death glorify thy holy name, propagate and ratify thy verity, comfort the hearts of the heavy, confirm thy church in thy verity, convert some that are to be converted, and so depart forth of this miserable world, where I do nothing but daily heap sin upon sin, and so enter into the fruition of thy blessed mercy ; whereof now give and increase in me a lively trust, sense, and feeling, wherethrough the terrors of death, the torments of fire, the pangs of sin, the darts of Satan, and the dolours of hell, may never depress me, but may be driven away through the working of that most gracious Spirit, which now plenteously endue me withal, that through the same Spirit I may offer (as I now desire to do in Christ by him) myself wholly, soul and body, to be a lively sacrifice, holy, and acceptable in thy sight.

Dear Father, whose I am, and always have been, even from my mother's womb, yea, even before the world was made, to whom I commend myself, soul and body, family and friends, country and all the whole church, yea, even my very enemies, according to thy good pleasure ; beseeching thee entirely to give once more to this realm of England the blessing of thy word again, with godly peace, to the teaching and setting forth of the same: O ! dear Father, now give me grace to come unto thee. Purge

and so purify me by this fire in Christ's death and passion through thy Spirit, that I may be a burnt offering of a sweet smell in thy sight, which livest and reignest with the Son and the Holy Ghost now and for evermore world without end. Amen.

JOHN PHILPOT.

EPISTLES

*Written on various Occasions, by the Rev. JONAS
PHILPOT, Archdeacon of Winchester.*

An Epistle which he sent to the Christian Congregation, exhorting them to refrain from the idolatrous Service of the Papists, and to serve God after his Word.

IT is a lamentable thing to behold at this present in England the faithless departing both of men and women from the true knowledge and use of Christ's sincere religion, which so plentifully they have been taught and do know, their own consciences bearing witness to the verity thereof.

If that earth be cursed of God, which chuseons receiving moisture and pleasant dews from heaven, doth not bring forth fruit accordingly, how much more grievous judgment shall such persons receive, which, having received from the Father of heaven the perfect knowledge of his word by the ministry thereof, do not shew forth God's worship after the same?

If the Lord will require in the day of judgment a godly usury of all manner of talents, which he lendeth unto men and women, how much more will he require the same of his pure religion revealed unto us (which is of all other talents the chiefest and most pertaining to our exercise in this life), if we hide the same in a napkin, and set it not forth to the usury of God's glory, and edifying of his church by true confession? God hath kindled the bright light of his Gospel, which in times past was suppressed and hid under the vile ashes of man's traditions, and hath caused the brightness thereof to shine in our

hearts, to the end that the same might shine before men to the honour of his name.

It is not only given us to believe, but also to confess and declare what we believe in our outward conversation. "The belief of the heart justifieth, and to acknowledge with the mouth maketh a man safe." It is all one before God, not to believe at all, and not to shew forth the lively works of our belief. For Christ saith, "Either make the tree good and its fruits good; or else make the tree evil and its fruit evil, because a good tree bringeth forth good fruits, as an evil tree doth evil fruits." So that the person which knoweth his master's will and doth it not, shall be beaten with many stripes. And, "not all they which say, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of God, but he that doth the will of the Father." And, "Whosoever in the time of trial is ashamed of me (saith Christ), and of my words, of him the Son of Man will be ashamed before his Father."

After that we have built ourselves into the true church of God, it hath pleased him, by giving us over into the hands of the wicked synagogues, to prove our building, and to have it known as well to the world as to ourselves, that we have been wise builders into the true church of God upon the rock, and not on the sand: and therefore now the tempest is risen, and the storms do mightily blow against us, that we might notwithstanding stand upright, and be firm in the Lord, to his honour and glory, and to our eternal felicity. There is no new thing happened unto us, for with such tempests and dangerous weathers the church of God hath continually been exercised. Now once again, as the Prophet Haggai telleth us, "the Lord shaketh the earth, that those might abide for ever, which be not overcome."

Therefore, my dearly beloved, be stable and un-

moveable in the word of God, and in the faithful observation thereof, and let no man deceive you with vain words, saying, that “ you may keep your faith to yourselves, and dissemble with antichrist, and so live at rest and quietness in the world, as most men do, yielding to necessity.” This is the wisdom of the flesh; but the wisdom of the flesh is death and enmity to God, as our Saviour for example aptly did declare in Peter, who exhorted Christ not to go to Jerusalem to celebrate the passover, and there to be slain, but counselled him to look better to himself.

Likewise the world would not have us to forsake it, neither to associate ourselves to the true church, which is the body of Christ, whereof we are lively members, and to use the sacraments after God’s word with the danger of our lives. But we must learn to answer the world, as Christ did Peter, and say, “ Go behind me, Satan, thou savourest not the things of God. Shall I not drink of the cup which the Father giveth me ?” For it is better to be afflicted and slain in the church of God, than to be counted the son of the king, and the synagogue of false religion. Death for righteousness is not to be abhorred, but rather to be desired, which assuredly bringeth with it the crown of everlasting glory. These bloody executioners do not persecute Christ’s martyrs, but crown them with everlasting felicity; we were born into this world to be witnesses unto the truth, both learned and unlearned.

Now since the time is come that we must shew our faith, and declare whether we will be God’s servants in righteousness and holiness, as we have been taught and are bound to follow, or else with hypocrisy to serve unrighteousness: let us take good heed, that we be found faithful in the Lord’s covenant, and true members of his church, in the which through know-

ledge we are ingrafted : from the which if we fall by transgression with the common sort of people, it will more straitly be required of us, than many yet do make account of. We cannot serve two masters ; we may not halt on both sides, and think to please God ; we must be fervent in God's cause, or else he will cast us out from him. For by the first commandment we are commanded to love God with all our hearts, with all our mind, with all our power and strength : but they are manifest transgressors of this commandment, which with their heart, mind, or bodily power, do communicate with a strange religion, contrary to the word of God, in the Papistical synagogue, which calleth itself the church, and is not. As greatly do they offend God now which so do, as the Israelites did in times past by forsaking Jerusalem, the true church of God, and by going to Bethel to serve God in a congregation of their own setting up, and after their own imaginations and traditions : for the which doing God utterly destroyed all Israel, as all the Prophets almost do testify. This happened unto them for our ensample, that we might beware to have any fellowship with any like congregation to our destruction.

God hath one catholic church dispersed throughout the world, and therefore we are taught in our creed to believe one catholic church, and to have communion therewith : which catholic church is grounded upon the foundation of the Prophets and of the Apostles, and upon none other, as St. Paul witnesseth to the Ephesians. Therefore, wheresoever we perceive any people to worship God truly after his word, there we may be certain the church of Christ to be ; unto the which we ought to associate ourselves, and to desire, with the Prophet David, to praise God in the midst of his church. But if we behold through the iniquity of time, segregations

to be made with counterfeit religion, otherwise than the word of God doth teach, we ought then, if we be required to be companions thereof, to say again with David, “ I have hated the synagogue of the malignant, and will not sit with the wicked.” In the Revelations the church of Ephesus is highly commended, because she tried such as said they were Apostles, and were not indeed, and therefore would not abide the company of them. Further God commanded his people that they should not seek Bethel, neither enter into Gilgal where idolatry was used, by the mouth of his Prophet Amos. Also we must consider that our bodies be the temple of God, and whosoever (as St. Paul teacheth) doth profane the temple of God, him the Lord would destroy. May we then take the temple of Christ, and make it the member of an harlot? All strange religion and idolatry is counted whoredom with the Prophets, and more detestable in the sight of God, than the adulterous abuse of the body.

Therefore the princes of the earth, in the Revelation of John, be said to go a-whoring, when they are in love with false religion, and follow the same. How then by any means may a Christian man think it tolerable to be present at the Popish private mass (which is the very profanation of the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ), and at other idolatrous worshippings and rites, which be not after the word of God, but rather to the derogation thereof, in setting man’s traditions above God’s precepts, since God by his word judgeth all strange religion, which is not according to his institution, for whoredom and adultery?

Some fondly think that the presence of the body is not material, so that the heart do not consent to their wicked doings. But such persons little consider what St. Paul writeth to the Corinthians, com-

manding them to glorify God as well in body as in soul.

Moreover, we can do no greater injury to the true church of Christ, than to seem to have forsaken her, and disallow her by cleaving to her adversary; whereby it appeareth to others which be weak, that we allow the same, and so, contrary to the word, do give a great offence to the church of God, and do outwardly slander, as much as men may, the truth of Christ. But woe be unto him by whom any such offence cometh. Better it were for him to have a millstone tied about his neck, and to be cast into the bottom of the sea. Such be traitors to the truth, like unto Judas, who with a kiss betrayed Christ.

Our God is a jealous God, and cannot be content that we should be of any other than of that unspotted church, whereof he is the head only, and wherein he hath planted us by baptism. This jealousy, which God hath towards us, will cry for vengeance in the day of vengeance against all such as now have so large consciences, as to do that which is contrary to God's glory, and the sincerity of his word, except they do in time repent, and cleave inseparably to the Gospel of Christ, how much soever at this present both men and women otherwise in their own corrupt judgment do flatter themselves. God willeth us to judge uprightly, and to allow and follow that which is holy and acceptable in his sight, and to abstain from all manner of evil; and therefore Christ commandeth us in the Gospel to beware of the leaven of the Pharisees, which is hypocrisy.

St. Paul to the Hebrews saith, "If any man withdraw himself from the faith, his soul shall have no pleasure in him:" therefore he saith also, "that we are none such as do withdraw ourselves unto perdition, but we belong unto faith, for the attainment

of life." St. John in the Revelations telleth us plainly, that " none of those, who are written in the book of life, do receive the mark of the beast" (which is of the Papistical synagogue), either in their foreheads, or else in their hands, that is, apparently or obediently.

St. Paul to the Philippians affirmeth, that " we may not have any fellowship with the works of darkness, but in the midst of this wicked and froward generation we ought to shine like lights, upholding the word of truth." Further he sayeth, that we may " not touch any unclean thing;" which signifieth that our outward conversation in foreign things ought to be pure and undefiled as well as the inward, that with a clean spirit and rectified body we might serve God justly in holiness and righteousness all the days of our life.

Finally, in the 18th of the Revelations, God biddeth us plainly to " depart from the Babylonical synagogue, and not to be partakers of her trespass." St. Paul to the Thessalonians commandeth us in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ to withdraw ourselves from every brother that walketh inordinately, and not according to the institution which he hath received of him.

Ponder ye therefore well, good brethern and sisters, these Scriptures, which be written for your erudition and reformation, whereof one jot is not written in vain; which be utterly against all counterfeit illusion to be used of us with the Papists in their fantastical religion, and be adversaries to all them that have so light consciences in so doing: and if they do not agree with this adversary (I mean, the word of God), which is contrary to their attempts, he will (as it is signified in the Gospel) deliver them to the judge, which is Christ; and the judge will deliver them to the executioner, that is, to

the devil ; and the devil shall commit them to the horrible prison of hell fire (where is the portion of all hypocrites), with sulphur and brimstone, with wailing and gnashing of teeth, world without end.

But yet many will say for their vain excuse, God is merciful, and his mercy is over all. But the Scripture teacheth us, that cursed is he that sinneth upon hope of forgiveness : truth it is that the mercy of God is above all his works, and yet but upon such as fear him : for it is written in the Psalms, “ The mercy of God is on them that fear him ; and on such as put their trust in him.” Where we may learn, that they only put their trust in God, that serve him ; and to fear God, is to turn from evil and do that is good. So that such as do look to be partakers in God’s mercy, may not abide in that which is known to be manifest evil and detestable in the sight of God.

Another sort of persons do make them a cloak for the rain under the pretence of obedience to the magistrates, whom we ought to obey, although they be wicked. But such must learn of Christ to give to Cæsar that is Cæsar’s, and to God that is due to God, and with St. Peter to obey the higher powers in the Lord, albeit they be evil, if they command nothing contrary to God’s word, otherwise we ought not to obey their commandments, although we should suffer death therefor : as we have the Apostles for our example herein to follow, who answered the magistrates as we ought to do in this case, not obeying their wicked precepts, saying, “ Judge you whether it be more righteous, that we should obey man rather than God.”

Also, Daniel chose rather to be cast into the den of lions to be devoured, than to obey the king’s wicked commandments. “ If the blind lead the blind, both fall into the ditch.” There is no excuse

for the transgression of God's word, whether a man do it voluntarily or at commandment, although great damnation is to them, by whom the offence cometh. Some others there be that for an extreme refuge in their evil doings do run to God's predestination and election, saying, that if I be elected of God to salvation, I shall be saved, whatsoever I do. But such be great tempters of God, and abominable blasphemers of God's holy election, and cast themselves down from the pinnacle of the temple in presumption, that God may preserve them by his angels through predestination. Such verily may reckon themselves to be none of God's elect children, that will do evil that good may ensue; whose damnation is just, as St. Paul saith. God's predestination and election ought to be with a simple eye considered, to make us more warily to walk in good and godly conversation according to God's word, and not sit cock in the hoop, and put all on God's back to do wickedly at large: for the elect children of God must walk in righteousness and holiness, after that they be once called to true knowledge. For so saith St. Paul to the Ephesians; that "God hath chosen us before the foundations of the world were laid, that we should be holy and blameless in his sight."

Therefore St. Peter willeth us through good works to make our vocation and election certain to ourselves, which we know not but by the good working of God's Spirit in us, according to the rule of the Gospel; and he that conformeth not himself to the same in godly conversation, may justly tremble and doubt that he is none of the elect children of God, but of the viperous generation, and a child of darkness. For the children of light will walk in the works of light and not of darkness; though they fall, they do not lie still.

Let all vain excusations be set apart, and while ye

have light, as Christ commandeth, believe the light and abide in the same, lest eternal darkness overtake you unawares. The light is come into the world, but (alas!) men love darkness more than the light. God give us his pure eye-salve, to heal our blindness in this behalf. O that men and women would be healed, and not seek to be wilfully blinded. The Lord open their eyes, that they may see how dangerous a thing it is to decline from the knowledge of truth, contrary to their conscience.

But what said I, conscience? Many affirm their conscience will bear them well enough to do all that they do, and go to the idolatrous church to service; whose conscience is very large to satisfy man more than God. And although their conscience can bear them so to do, yet I am sure a good conscience will not permit them so to do; which cannot be good, unless it be directed after the knowledge of God's word: and therefore in Latin this feeling mind is called *conscientia*, which soundeth by interpretation, as much as "with knowledge."

And therefore if our conscience be led of herself, and not after true knowledge, yet are we not so to be excused, as St. Paul beareth witness, saying, Although my conscience accuseth me not, yet in this I am not justified. And he joineth a good conscience with these three sisters, charity, and a pure heart, and unfeigned faith. Charity keepeth God's commandments, a pure heart loveth and feareth God above all, and unfeigned faith is never ashamed of the profession of the Gospel, whatsoever damage he shall suffer in body thereby.

The Lord which hath revealed his holy will unto us by his word, grant us never to be ashamed of it, and give us grace so earnestly to cleave to his holy word and true church, that for no manner of worldly respect we become partakers of the works of hypo-

crisy, which God doth abhor; so that we may be found faithful in the Lord's testament to the end, both in heart, word, and deed, to the glory of God and our everlasting salvation. Amen.

JOHN PHILPOT, prisoner in the King's Bench for the testimony of the truth, 1555.

Epistle to his dear Friend in the Lord, JOHN CARELESS, Prisoner in the King's Bench.

My dearly-beloved brother Careless, I have received your loving letters full of love and compassion, insomuch that they made my hard heart to weep, to see you so careful for one that hath been so unprofitable a member as I have been, and am, in Christ's church. God make me worthy of that I am called unto, and I pray you cease not to pray for me, but cease to weep for him who hath not deserved such gentle tears: and praise God with me, for that I now approach to the company of them, whose want you may worthily lament; God give your pitiful heart his inward consolation. Indeed, my dear Careless, I am in this world in hell, and in the shadow of death; but He that hath brought me for my deserts down into hell, shall shortly lift me up to heaven, where I shall look continually for your coming, and others my faithful brethren in the King's Bench. And though I tell you that I am in hell in the judgment of this world, yet assuredly I feel in the same the consolation of heaven, I praise God; and this loathsome and horrible prison is as pleasant to me as the walk in the garden of the King's Bench.

You know, brother Careless, you know that the way to heaven out of this life is very narrow, and we must strive to enter in at a narrow gate. If God do mitigate the ugliness of mine imprisonment, what

will he do in the rage of the fire whereunto I am appointed? And this hath happened unto me, that I might be hereafter an ensample of comfort, if the like happen unto you, or to any other of my dear brethren with you in these cruel days, in the which the devil so rageth at the faithful flock of Christ; but in vain (I trust) against any of us; who be persuaded that neither life, neither death, is able to separate us from the love of Christ's Gospel, which is God's holy treasure committed to our brittle vessels to glorify us by the same. God of his mercy make us faithful stewards to the end, and give us grace to fear nothing whatsoever in his good pleasure we shall suffer for the same. That I have not written unto you, the cause is our strait keeping and the want of light by night: for the day serveth us but a while in our dark closet. This is the first letter that I have written since I came to prison, besides the report of mine examinations, and I am fain to scribble it out in haste.

Commend me to all our faithful brethren, and bid them with a good courage look for their redemption, and frame themselves to be hearty soldiers in Christ. They have taken his press-money a great while, and now let them shew themselves ready to serve him faithfully, and not to fly out of the Lord's camp into the world, as many do. Let them remember that in the Apocalypse the fearful be excluded the kingdom. Let us be of good cheer, for our Lord overcame the world, that we should do the like. Blessed is the servant, whom, when the Lord cometh, he findeth watching. O let us watch and pray earnestly one for another, that we be not led into temptation. Be joyful under the cross, and praise the Lord continually, for this is the whole burnt sacrifice which the Lord delighteth in. Commend me to my father Hunt, and desire him to love and continue in the

unity of Christ's true church, which he hath begun, and then shall he make me more and more to joy under my cross with him. Tell my brother Clement that he hath comforted me much by his loving token in signification of an unfeigned unity with us; let him increase my joy unto the end perfectly. The Lord of peace be with you all. Salute all my loving friends, M. Mering, M. Crooch, with the rest, and specially M. Marshal and his wife, with great thanks for his kindness shewed unto me. Farewell, my dear Careless. I have dallied with the devil awhile, but I am over the shoes: God send me well out.

Out of the coal-house, by your brother,
JOHN PHILPOT.

Another Letter to JOHN CARELESS, profitable to be read of all them which mourn in Repentance for their Sins.

The God of all comfort, and the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, send unto thee, my dear brother Careless, the inward consolations of his holy Spirit, in all the malicious assaults and troublous temptations of our common adversary the devil. Amen.

That God giveth you so contrite a heart for your sins, I cannot but rejoice to behold: it is the lively mark of the children of God, whose property is to think more lowly and vile of themselves than of any others, and oftentimes to set their sins before them, that they might the more be stirred to bring forth the fruits of repentance, and learn to mourn in this world, that in another they might be glad and rejoice. Such a broken heart is a pleasant sacrifice unto God: O that I had the like contrite heart! God mollify my stony heart, which lamenteth not in such wise my former detestable iniquities. Praised be God that he hath given you this sorrowful heart

in respect of righteousness, and I pray you let me be partaker of these godly sorrows for sin, which be the testimony of the presence of the Holy Ghost. Did not the sword of sorrow pierce the heart of the elect and blessed mother of our Lord? Did not Peter weep bitterly for his sins, which was so beloved of Christ? Did not Mary Magdalen wash the feet of our Saviour with her tears, and received therewithal remission of her sevenfold sins?

Be of good comfort therefore, mine own dear heart, in this thy sorrow, for it is the earnest penny of eternal consolation. In thy sorrow laugh, for the Spirit of God is with thee: blessed be they (saith Christ) that mourn, for they shall be comforted. They went forth and wept, saith the Prophet; such shall come again, having their pains full of gladness. And although a sorrowful heart in consideration of his sin be an acceptable sacrifice before God, whereby we are stirred up to more thankfulness unto God, knowing that much is forgiven us that we might love the more, yet the man of God must keep a measure in the same, lest he be swallowed up by much sorrow. St. Paul would not the Thessalonians to be sorry as other men which have no hope: such a sorrow is not commendable, but worketh damnation, and is far from the children of God, who are continually sorrowful in God when they look upon their own unworthiness, with hope of forgiveness. For God to this end by his Spirit setteth the sins of his elect still before them, that where they perceive sin to abound, there they might be assured that grace shall superabound, and bringeth them down into hell, that he might lift them up with greater joy unto heaven. Wherefore, mine own bowels in Christ, as long as you are not void altogether of hope, be not dismayed through your pensive heart for your sins, how huge soever they have been, for

God is able to forgive more than you are able to sin: yea, and he will forgive him, who with hope is sorry for his sins.

But know, brother, that as oft as we do go about, by the help of God's Spirit, to do that is good, the evil spirit Satan lieth hard in wait to turn the good unto evil, and goeth about to mix the detestable darnel of desperation with the godly sorrow of a pure penitent heart. You be not ignorant of his malicious subtlety, and how that continually he assaulteth that good which the grace of God planteth. I see the battle betwixt you and him, but the victory is yours, yea, and that daily: for you have laid hold upon the anchor of salvation, which is hope in Christ, the which will not suffer you to be made ashamed.

Be not discontented that you have this conflict: but be glad that God hath given you the same to try your faith, and that you might appear daily worthy of the kingdom of God, for the which you strive. God beholdeth your striving faith against Satan, and is pleased with your mighty resistance. The Spirit which is in you is mightier than all the adversary's power. Tempt he may, and lying await at you heels, give you a fall unawares; but overcome he shall not: yea, he cannot, for you are sealed up already with a lively faith to be the child of God for ever: and whom God hath once sealed for his own, him he never utterly forsaketh. The just falleth seven times, but he riseth again. It is man's frailty to fall, but it is the property of the devil's child to lie still.

This strife against sin is a sufficient testimony that you are the child of God: for if you were not, you should feel no such malice as he now troubleth you withal. When this strong Goliah hath the hold, all things be in peace, which he possesseth: and because he hath you not, he will not suffer you to be

unassaulted. But stand fast, and hold out the buckler of faith, and with the sword of God's promises smite him on the scalp; that he may receive a deadly wound, and never be able to stand against you any more. St. James telleth you he is but a coward, saying, "Resist the devil, and he will flee from thee." It is the will of God that he should thus long tempt you and not go away as yet, or else he had done with you long ere this. He knoweth already that he shall receive the foil at your hands, and increase the crown of your glory: for he that overcometh shall be crowned. Therefore glory in your temptations, since they shall turn to your felicity. Be not afraid of your continual assaults, which be occasions of your daily victory. The word of God abideth for ever. In what hour soever a sinner repenteth him of his sins, they be forgiven. Who can lay any thing to the charge of God's elect? Do you not perceive the manifest tokens of your elections? First your vocation to the Gospel, and after your vocation, the manifest gifts of the Spirit of God given unto you above many others of your condition, with godliness which believeth and yieldeth to the authority of the Scripture, and is zealous for the same. Seeing you are God's own darling, who can hurt you? Be not of a dejected mind for these temptations, neither make your unfeigned friends to be more sorrowful for you than need doth require.

Since God hath willed you at your baptism in Christ to be "*Careless*," why do you make yourself careful? Cast all your care upon him. Set the Lord always before your eyes, for he is on your right side, that you shall not be then moved. Behold the goodness of God toward me. I am careless, being fast closed in a pair of stocks, which pinch me for very straitness; and will you be careful? I will not have that unseemly addition to your

name. Be as your name pretendeth, for doubtless you have no other cause but so to be. Pray, I beseech you, that I may be still careless in my careful estate, as you have cause to be careless in your easier condition. Be thankful, and put away all care, and then I shall be joyful in my strait present care.

Commend me to all our brethren, and desire them to pray for me, that I may overcome my temptations : for the devil rageth against me. I am put in the stocks in a place alone, because I would not answer to such articles, as they would charge me withal in a corner at the Bishop's appointment, and because I did not come to mass when the Bishop sent for me. I will lie all the days of my life in the stocks, by God's grace, rather than I will consent to the wicked generation. Praise God, and be joyful, that it hath pleased him to make us worthy to suffer somewhat for his name sake. The devil must rage for ten days. Commend me to Master F. and thank him for his law books ; but neither law nor equity will take any place among these bloodthirsty ones. I would for your sake their unjust dealings were noted unto the Parliament-house, if it might avail. God shorten these evil days ! I have answered the Bishop meetly plain already, and I said unto him, if he will call me in open judgment, I will answer him as plainly as he will require : otherwise I have refused, because I fear they will condemn me in hugging-mugger. The peace of God be with you, my dear brother. I can write no more for lack of light, and that I have written I cannot read myself, and God knoweth it is written uneasily. I pray God you may pick out some understanding of my mind towards you. Written in a coal-house of darkness, out of a pair of painful stocks, by thine own in Christ,

JOHN PHILPOT.

Another Letter of Master PHILPOT to certain godly Women, forsaking their own Country for the Gospel, full of fruitful Precepts and Lessons for all good Women.

The spirit of truth, revealed unto you, my dearly beloved, by the Gospel of our Saviour Jesus Christ, be continually abiding in you, and augmented into a perfect building of you into the lively temple of God, through the mighty operation of his holy power. Amen.

I read in the Evangelists of certain godly women, that ministered unto Christ, following him in the days of his passion, and never forsook him, but being dead in his grave, brought oil to anoint him, until that he had shewed himself unto them after his resurrection, and bidden them shew unto his disciples, which at his passion were dispersed, and tell them that he was risen, and that they should see him in Galilee. To whom I may justly compare you (my loving sisters in Christ), who of late have seen him suffer in his members, and have ministered to their necessity, anointing them with comfortable oil of your charitable assistance, even to the death: and now since ye have seen Christ to live in the ashes of them, whom the tyrants have slain, he willeth you to go away upon just occasion offered you, and to declare to our dispersed brethren and sisters, that he is risen, and liveth in his elect members in England, and by death doth overcome infidelity; and that they shall see him in Galilee, which is by forsaking this world, and by a faithful desire to pass out of this world by those ways, which he with his holy martyrs hath gone on before.

God therefore (entire sisters) direct your way, as he did Abraham and Tobias, unto a strange land: God give you health, both of body and soul, that ye

may go from virtue to virtue, and grow from strength to strength, until ye may see face to face the God of Sion in his holy hill, with the innumerable company of his blessed martyrs and saints. Let there be continually ascensions unto heaven in your hearts.

Let there be no decrease of any virtue, which is already planted in you. Be as the light of the just, such as Solomon saith, increaseth to the perfect day of the Lord. Let the strength of God be commended in your weak vessels, as it is. Be examples of faith and sobriety, to all that ye shall come in company withal. Let your godly conversation speak, where your tongue may not, in the congregation. Be swift to hear, and slow to speak, after the counsel of St. James. Be not curious about other men's doings, but be occupied in prayer and continual meditation, with reverent talking of the word of God, without contention among the saints. Let your faith shine in a strange country, as it hath done in your own, that your Father which is in heaven may be glorified by you unto the end.

This farewell I send unto you, not as a thing needful (which know already what your duty is, and be desirous to perform the same), but as one that would have you understand that he is mindful of your godly conversation, whereof he hath had good experience, and therefore writeth this to be a perpetual memory betwixt you and him, until our meeting together before God, where we shall joy that we have here lovingly put one another in memory of our duty to perform it.

Farewell again, mine own bowels in Christ, and take me with you wheresoever you go, and leave yourself with me, that in spirit we may be present one with another. Commend me to the whole congregation of Christ, willing them not to leave their

country without witness of the Gospel, after that we be all slain, which already be called upon and appointed to the slaughter, and in the mean season to pray earnestly for our constancy, that Christ may be glorified in us and in them, both by life and death. Farewell in the Lord.

Yours for ever,
JOHN PHILPOT.

An Exhortation to his own Sister, constantly to stick to the Truth, which she had fruitfully professed.

God the eternal Father, who hath justified you by the blood of his Son Jesus Christ, and called you to hallow his name through a good conversation and profession of life, sanctify you with daily increase of virtue and faith by his holy Spirit, that you may appear a vessel of sanctification, in the midst of this wicked and perverse generation, to the laud and praise of the Gospel. Amen.

I have occasion (mine own dear sister) to praise God in you for two causes: the one, that to your ability you are ready to shew yourself a natural loving sister to me your poor afflicted brother, as by your gentle tokens you have testified being absent, and also presently visiting me, which well declareth that you be a very natural sister indeed, and to be praised in this behalf.

But in the other, that you be also a sister to me in faith after Christ's Gospel. I am occasioned to thank God so much the more, how much the one excelleth the other, and the spiritual consanguinity is more perdurable than that which is of flesh and blood, and is a worker of that which is by nature: for commonly such as be ungodly, be unnatural, and only lovers of themselves, as daily experience teacheth us. The living Lord, which through the incor-

ruptible seed of his word hath begotten you to be my liege sister, give you grace so to grow in that generation, that you may increase to a perfect age in the Lord, to be my sister with Christ for ever.

Look therefore that you continue a faithful sister as you are called and are godly entered, not only to me, but to all the church of Christ, yea to Christ himself, who vouchsafeth you in this your unfeigned faith, worthy to be his sister. Consider this dignity to surmount all the vain dignities of the world, and let it accordingly prevail more with you than all earthly delights: for thereby you are called to an equal portion of the everlasting inheritance of Christ, if now in no wise you do shew yourself an unnatural sister to him in forsaking him in trouble, which I trust you will never for any kind of worldly respect do: you are under dangerous temptations to be turned from that natural love you owe unto Christ, and you shall be tried with God's people through a sieve of great affliction: for so Satan desireth us to be sifted, that through fear of sharp troubles, we might fall from the stableness of our faith, and so be deprived of that honour, joy, and reward, which is prepared for such as continue faithful brothers and sisters in the Lord's covenant to the end. Therefore the wise man in the book of Ecclesiasticus biddeth them that come to the service of the Lord, to prepare themselves to suffer temptations.

Since then that for the glory of God and our faith, we are called now to abide the brunt of them, and that when our adversary hath done all that he can, yet we may be stable and stand; this Christ, our first begotten brother, looketh for at our hands, and all our brethren and sisters in heaven desire to see our faith through afflictions to be perfect, that we might fulfil their number: and the universal church here militant, rejoiceth at our constancy, all whom

by the contrary we should make sorry, to the danger of the loss both of body and soul. Fear not therefore, whatsoever be threatened of the wicked world, prepare your back, and see it be ready to carry Christ's cross. And if you see any untowardness in you (as the flesh is continually repugnant to the will of God), ask with faithful prayer, that the good Spirit of God may lead your sinful flesh whither it would not: for if we will dwell in the flesh and follow the counsel thereof, we shall never do the will of God, neither work that tendeth to our salvation.

You are at this present in the confines and borders of Babylon, where you are in danger of drinking of the harlot's cup, unless you be vigilant in prayer. Take heed the serpent seduce you not from the simplicity of your faith, as he did our first mother Eve. Let no worldly fellowship make you partake of iniquity. He that toucheth tar, cannot but be defiled thereby. With such as be perverse, a man shall soon be perverted; with the holy you shall be holy. Therefore say continually with the Prophet David, Psalm xxxv. "Unto the saints that be on the earth, all my will is on them." You have been sanctified and made pure through the truth; take heed you be not made unholy and defiled, lest the last be worse than the first.

I write not this because I stand in any doubt of your sincere continuance, of the which I have so good experience; but because the days be evil, and in the same it is the duty of every one of us to exhort and stir up one another: I am bold to put you (my good sister) in remembrance of that which doth not a little comfort me to remember, in my troubles and daily temptations. Wherefore I doubt not, you will take that in good part which cometh from your brother both in spirit and body, who tendereth your salvation as earnestly as his own, that we might joy

together eternally with such joy as the world shall never be able to take from us. Thanks be unto God, you have begun to run a good and great time well in the ways of the Lord : run out the race to the end, which you have begun, and then shall you receive the crown of glory. None shall be crowned, but such as lawfully strive. Be not overcome of evil, but overcome evil with good, and the Lord shall make you one of those faithful virgins, that shall follow the Lamb wheresoever he goeth, the which Christ grant both you and me. Amen.

Commend me to all them that love me in the Lord unfeignedly. God increase our faith, and give us never to be ashamed of his Gospel. That same request which I have made to my brother Thomas, I make also to you, desiring you by all means you can to accomplish my request, that my sureties may be satisfied with that is mine own, to the contentation of my mind, which cannot be quiet until they be discharged : therefore I pray you to help to purchase quietness, that I might depart out of this world in peace. My dissolution I look for daily, but the Lord knoweth how unworthy I am of so high an honour, as to die for the testimony of his truth. Pray that God would vouchsafe to make me worthy, as he hath done, of long imprisonment, for the which his name be praised for ever. Pray and look for the coming of the Lord, whose wrath is great over us, and I will pray for you as long as I live. The 9th of July, in the King's Bench.

Your own loving brother, as well in faith as in body,

JOHN PHILPOT.

Another Letter of JOHN PHILPOT to certain godly Brethren.

The grace of God the Father, and the peace of our Saviour Jesus Christ his eternal Son, and the consolation of the Holy Ghost our Comforter, strengthen your hearts, and comfort your minds, that you may rejoice, and live in the truth of Christ's Gospel to the end. Amen.

I do much rejoice, dearly beloved in the Lord, to hear of your constant faith in the word of God, which you have so purely received, which do not with the worldlings decline from the purity thereof, albeit ye suffer grief and trouble thereby; for the which I praise God most heartily: and the Lord of all strength, who hath begun this good work in you, make it perfect to the end, as I doubt not but he will, for the faithful zeal ye have to his truth and to his afflicted church. Therefore that ye may the better stand and bear the brunt of many temptations, which you are like to be assaulted withal in these wicked and stormy days; I thought it good, as it is the duty of one Christian man to exhort another in the time of trouble, to put you in remembrance thereof, and to will you with the wise man to prepare yourselves to temptations, and to beware that ye, which yet do stand by the goodness of God, may not fall from your lively knowledge and hope. It is an easy thing to begin to do well, but to continue out in well doing, is the only property of the children of God, and such as assuredly shall be saved. For, saith our Saviour in his Gospel, "Blessed are they that persevere to the end."

Let not therefore this certainty of your salvation, which is continuance in the sincerity of faith, slide from you. Esteem it more than all the riches and pleasures of this world, for it is the most acceptable

treasure of eternal life. This is that precious stone, for the which the wise merchant-man, after the Gospel, doth sell all that he hath, and buyeth the same. God in the third of the Revelations doth signify to the church, that there shall come a time of temptation upon the whole world, to try the dwellers on the earth. From the danger of the which temptation all such shall be delivered as observe his word ; which word there is called the word of patience, to give us to understand that we must be ready to suffer all kind of injuries and slanders for the profession thereof.

Therefore God commandeth us there to hold it fast, that no man might bereave us of our crown of glory ; and St. Peter telleth us, “ now we are afflicted with divers trials, as it is need it should so be ; that the trial of our faith being much more precious than gold that perisheth, and yet is tried by fire, might redound to the laud, glory, and honour of Jesus Christ.” St. Paul to the Hebrews sheweth us, that “ Christ our Saviour was in his humanity made perfect by suffering, that we being called to perfection in him, might more willingly sustain the troubles of the world, by the which God give all them that be exercised in the same for his sake, his holiness. And in the twelfth chapter of the said Epistle is written, “ My son, refuse not the correction of the Lord, nor shrink when thou art rebuked of him : for the Lord doth chastise every son whom he receiveth, &c.” Christ in the Gospel of St. John biddeth his disciples to look after affliction, saying, “ In the world ye shall have trouble, but in me ye shall have joy.” And therefore in the midst of their trouble, in the 21st of St. Luke, he biddeth them “ look up and lift up their heads, for your redemption,” saith he, “ is at hand.” And in the 22d he saith to all such as be afflicted for him, “ You are

those that have abode with me in my temptation, and therefore I appoint unto you a kingdom, as my Father hath appointed for me, to eat and drink upon my table in my kingdom."

Oh how glorious be the crosses of Christ, which bring the bearers of them unto so blessed an end! Shall we not be glad to be partakers of such shame, as may bring us to so high a dignity? God open our eyes to see all things as they be, and to judge uprightly. Then doubtless we would think with Moses, that it is better to be afflicted with the people of God, than to be counted the king of Egypt's son. Then should we joyfully say with David in all our adversities and troubles, "It is good, O Lord, thou hast brought me low, to the end I might learn thy righteousness." Therefore St. Paul would not glory in any other thing of the world, but in the cross of Christ, and in other his infirmities: we have the commandment of Christ, daily to take up his cross and follow him. We have the godly examples of all his Apostles and holy martyrs, which with great joy and exaltation have suffered the loss of lands, goods, and life, for the hope of a better reward, which is laid up for all those in heaven, that unfeignedly cleave to the Gospel, and never be ashamed thereof.

Great is the felicity of the world to the outward man, and very pleasant are the transitory delights thereof: but the reward of the righteous after the word of God doth incomparably excel them all, inasmuch that St. Paul to the Romans doth plainly affirm, that all the tribulations of this world cannot deserve that glory which shall be shewed unto us.

Let us therefore (good brethren and sisters) be merry and glad in these troublesome days, the which be sent of God to declare our faith, and to bring us to the end and fruition of that which we hope for.

If we would enter into the Lord's sanctuary, and behold what is prepared for us, we could not but desire the Lord to hasten the day of our death, in the which we might set forth by true confession his glory. Neither should we be afraid to meet our adversaries, which so earnestly seek our spoil and death, as Christ did Judas and that wicked rout, which came to apprehend him, saying, "I am he whom ye seek." It is commanded us by the Gospel, not to fear them that can kill the body, but to fear God, who can cast both body and soul into hell fire. So much we are bound to observe this commandment as any other which God hath given us. The Lord increase our faith, that we fear God more than man. The Lord give us such love towards him and his truth, that we may be content to forsake all and follow him. Now will it appear what we love best; for to that we love, we will stick.

There is none worthy to be counted a Christian, except he can find in his heart for Christ's sake, if the confession of his truth doth require it, to renounce all which he hath, and follow him; and in so doing he gaineth an hundred fold more in this life (as our Saviour said to Peter); and hereafter is assured of eternal life. Behold, I pray you, what he loseth, which in this life receiveth an hundred for one, with assurance of eternal life. O happy change! perchance your outward man will say; if I were sure of this great recompense here, I would be glad to forsake all. But where is this hundred fold in this life to be found? Yes truly; for instead of worldly riches which thou dost forsake, which be but temporal, thou hast found the everlasting riches of heaven, which be glory, honour, and praise before God, angels, and men; and for an earthly habitation, hast an eternal mansion with Christ in heaven; for even now thou art of the city and household of the

saints with God, as it is verified in the fourth to the Philippians. For worldly peace, which can last but awhile, thou dost possess the peace of God, which passeth all understanding ; and for the loss of a few friends, thou art made a fellow of the innumerable company of heaven, and perpetual friend of all those that died in the Lord, from the beginning of the world. Is not this more than an hundred fold ? Is not the peace of God which we in this world have through faithful imitation of Christ (which the world cannot take from us), ten thousand fold more than those things that most highly be esteemed in this world, without the peace of God ? All the peace of the world is no peace, but a mere anguish and a gnawing fury of hell : as of late God hath set example before our eyes, to teach us how horrible an evil it is to forsake the peace of Christ's truth, which breedeth a worm in conscience that never shall rest.

O that we would weigh this with indifferent balances ! Then should we not be dismayed at this troublesome time, neither sorrow after worldly manner for the loss which we are now like to sustain, as the weak faithless persons do, which love their goods more than God, and the things visible above those which be invisible : but rather would heartily rejoice and be thankful, that it pleased God to call us to be soldiers in his cause against the works of hypocrisy, and to make us like unto our Saviour Christ in suffering, whereby we may assure ourselves of his eternal glory : for blessed are they, saith Christ, that suffer persecution for righteousness sake. And as St. Paul witnesseth to Timothy ; " If we die with Christ, we shall live with Christ ; and if we deny him, he will deny us."

O that we would enter into the veil of God's promises ! Then should we, with St. Paul to the Philippians, reject all, and count all things but for dross,

so that we may gain Christ. God which is the lightener of darkness, and putter away of all blindness, anoint our eyes with the true eye-salve, that we might behold his glory, and our eternal felicity, which is hidden with Christ, and prepared for us that do abide in his testament: for blessed is that servant, whom the master when he cometh (as Christ said) doth find faithful. Let us therefore watch and pray one for another, that we yield not in any point of our religion to the antichristian synagogue, and that we be not overthrown by these temptations.

Stand therefore, and be no cowards in the cause of your salvation; for his Spirit that is in us, is stronger than he which in the world doth now rage against us. Let us not put out the Spirit of God from us, by whose might we shall overcome our enemies, and then death shall be as great a gain to us as it was to the blessed Apostle Paul. Why then do ye mourn? Why do ye weep? Why be ye so careful, as though God had forsaken you? He is never more present with us, than when we be in trouble, if we do not forsake him. We are in his hands, and nobody can do us any injury or wrong without his good will and pleasure. He hath commanded his angels to keep us, that we stumble not at a stone without his divine providence. The devil cannot hurt any of us, and much less any of his ministers, without the good will of our eternal Father.

Therefore let us be of good comfort, and continually give thanks unto God for our estate, whatsoever it be: for if we murmur against the same, we murmur against God, who sendeth the same; which if we do, we kick but against the pricks, and provoke more the wrath of God against us, which by patient suffering, otherwise would sooner be turned into our favour through faithful prayer.

I beseech you with St. Paul, to give your bodies

pure and holy sacrifices unto God. He hath given us bodies to bestow unto his glory, and not after our own concupiscence. If many years God hath suffered us to use our bodies, which be his temples, after the lust of the flesh, in vain delights, not according to his glory, is it not our duty in the latter end of our life, the more willingly to yield unto God's glory our bodies, with all that we have, in demonstration of true repentance of that we have evil spent before? Cannot the examples of the blessed man Job horribly afflicted cause us to say, "The Lord hath given it, the Lord hath taken it. Blessed be the name of the Lord." Even as it hath pleased the Lord, so it came to pass: if we cast our whole care likewise upon God, he will turn our misery into felicity, as well as he did to Job. God tempteth us now as he did our forefather Abraham, commanding him to slay his son Isaac in sacrifice to him; which Isaac by interpretation doth signify mirth and joy. Who by his obedience preserved Isaac unto long life, and offered instead a ram that was tied by the horns in the brambles. In like wise we are commanded to sacrifice unto God our Isaac, which is our joy and consolation: the which if we be ready to do, as Abraham was, our joy shall not perish, but live and be increased, although our ram be sacrificed for our Isaac, which doth signify that the pride and concupiscence of our flesh entangled through sin, with the cares of this world, must be mortified for the preservation and perfect augmentation of our mirth and joy, which is sealed up for us in Christ.

And to withstand these present temptations wherewithal we are now incumbered, ye cannot have a better remedy than to set before your eyes how our Saviour Christ overcame them in the desert, and to follow his ensample, that if the devil himself, or any other by him, willeth you to make stones bread,

that is, to take such a worldly wise way, that you may have your fair houses, lands, and goods, to live on still, ye must say, that a man liveth not only by bread, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God.

Again, if the devil counselleth you to cast yourselves down to the earth, or to revoke your sincere belief and godly conversation, and to be conformable to the learned men of the world, pretending that Christ will be well enough content therewith, ye must answer that it is written, that a man shall not tempt his Lord God.

Further, if the devil offer you large promises of honour, dignity, and possessions, so that ye will worship idols in his synagogue, ye must say, Go behind me, Satan, for it is otherwise written, that a man must worship his Lord God, and serve him only.

Finally, if your mother, brother, sister, wife, child, kinsman, or friend, do seek of you to do otherwise than the word of God hath taught you, ye must say with Christ, that they are your mothers, brothers, sisters, wives, children, and kinsmen, which do the will of God the Father. To the which will the Lord for his mercy conform us all unfeignedly to the end. Amen.

Your loving and faithful brother in Christ, in captivity,

JOHN PHILPOT, Anno 1555.

Epistle to his Friend and faithful Brother in the Lord, Master ROBERT HARRINGTON.

Gentle Master Harrington, I cannot tell what condign thanks I may give unto God for you, in respect of the great gentleness and pain which you

have taken for the relief of me and of other our afflicted brethren in Christ. God be praised for his mercy, whose loving providence we have seen towards us by such faithful stewards as you have been towards a great many. Blessed be you of God for the loving care which you have taken for his poor flock. God hath reserved your reward of thanks in heaven, and therefore I go not about to render you any, lest I might seem to judge, that you looked for that here which is reserved to a better place.

I thank God for that I have found by your faithful and diligent industry, and God forgive me my unworthiness for so great benefits. God give me grace to serve him faithfully, and to run out my race with joy. Glorious is the course of the martyrs of Christ at this day. Never had the elect of God a better time for their glory than this is. Now may they be assured under the cross, that they are Christ's disciples for ever.

Methink I see you desiring to be under the same. The flesh draweth back, but the spirit saith, it must be brought whither it would not. Here is the victory of the world: here is true faith and everlasting glory. Who is he which desireth not to be found faithful to his master? And now is the time that every faithful servant of Christ hath just opportunity to shew himself a glorious soldier in the Lord's sight. How do the Amalekites invade the true Israelites, that the Israelites might with speed be glorified! I need not for want of understanding to admonish you hereof, but as a willing soldier of Christ, to exhort you so to run as you may get the victory, and that speedily with us. A man that is bid to a glorious feast, wisheth his friend to go with him, and be partaker thereof. God doth call me, most unworthy among others, to drink of the bride-cup of his Son, whereby we shall be made worthy (as many of our

brethren have been before us) to sit at the right hand and at the left hand of Christ. O what unspeakable condition is that! may any worldly thing stop us from the desire thereof? Since we seek the kingdom of God, why do we not apprehend it, being so near offered unto us?

Let us approach near unto God, and God will draw near unto us. God draw us after him, that we may all run after the savour of his sweet ointments. Christ anoint us, that we may be supplied in these evil days to run lightly unto the glory of the Lord. Shame, imprisonment, loss of goods, and shedding of our blood, be the just price which we must willingly bestow for the same. Wherefore (dearly beloved in the Lord) let not the great charges keep you back from buying this glory: for the reward is ten thousand fold greater than the prize.

That you have married a wife, whom God bless, I cannot excuse you from this part, but you must bring your wife for a usury to the Lord, whose pleasure is in godly yoke-fellows. I wish you to be as I am, except these horrible bonds, but yet most comfortable to the Lord, assuring you that we are made worthy through Christ of the kingdom for the which we suffer. Praised be the Lord for the affliction which we suffer, and he give us strength to continue to the end!

Commend me to Master Heath, and tell him that I would wish him with me, to prove how apt he is to carry the cross of Christ. I pray for his continuance in Christ, as for my own. Commend me to his wife, and to Mrs. Hall, certifying them that I am brought to the gates of hell, that I might never enter into the same, but be raised up from hell to heaven, through the word that sanctifieth us. Commend me to Master Elsing and his wife, and thank them that they remembered to provide me some ease

in prison ; and tell them, that though my Lord's coal-house be but very black, yet it is more to be desired of the faithful, than the Queen's palace. God make her a joyful mother, and preserve them both to the comfort of God's people. Thus for this time farewell, dear brother. Written in post haste because of strait keeping.

This day I look to be called before the commissioners again. Pray, dear brother, for the spirit of wisdom to remain with me. Commend me to your wife, and I thank you both for your tokens. Your token I have sent to your wife ; and my token unto you, is my faithful heart with this letter. Commend me to all my friends, and tell them I thank God I am cheerful in Christ, wishing them to fear God more than man, and to learn to despise earnestly the vanities of this world, desiring you all to pray for me, that I may end my journey with fidelity. Amen.

JOHN PHILPOT.

A Letter of Master PHILPOT to the Lady VANE.

The principal Spirit of God the Father, given unto us by Christ our merciful Saviour, confirm, strengthen, and stablish you in the true knowledge of the Gospel, that your faithful heart (worshipful and dear sister in the Lord) attain and taste with all the saints what is the height, the depth, the length, and the breadth, of the sweet cross of Christ. Amen, &c.

Oh! happy are you amongst all other women, that have found this precious stone which is hidden in the Gospel ; for the which we ought to sell all other things, and to purchase the same. O happy woman! whose heart God hath moved and enlarged to be in the profession thereof. Others seek

worldly goods, honours, and delights; but you seek with good understanding to serve God in spirit and verity. This is the gate that leadeth to heaven; this is your portion for ever. By this you shall see God face to face (which sight is unspeakable joy); and by this shall ye see a full sight of all the beautiful powers, and of all the celestial paradise. By this shall ye know them that you never knew, and be joyous and glad with those which you have known here in God, world without end.

Ah! I lament the infidelity of England, that after so great light is stept into so huge darkness again. The servant that knoweth his master's will and doth it not, shall be beaten with many stripes. Ah! great be the plagues that hang over England, yea, though the Gospel should be restored again. Happy shall that person be whom the Lord shall take out of this world, not to see them. Ah! the great perjury which men have run into so willingly against God, by receiving antichrist again and his wicked laws, which do threaten a great ruin unto England. Oh! that the Lord would turn his just judgments upon the authors of the truce-breaking between God and us, that they might be brought low (as Nebuchadnezzar was), that his people might be delivered, and his glory exalted. God grant that that good luck which you have hope shortly to come upon the house of God, be a true prophecy, and not a well-wishing only. Ah! Lord, take away thy heavy hand from us, and stretch it out upon thine enemies, these hypocrites, as thou hast begun, that they may be confounded. O! let not the weak perish for want of knowledge through our sins. Although thou kill us, yet will we put our trust in thee.

Thus (dear heart) you teach me to pray with you in writing. God hear our prayers, and give us the spirit of effectual prayer, to pour out our hearts con-

tinually together before God, that we may find mercy both for ourselves and for our afflicted brethren and sisters. I cannot but praise God in you, for that pitiful heart that taketh other folk's calamities to heart, as your own. Blessed be they that mourn, for such shall be comforted. God wipe away all tears from your pitiful eyes, and sorrow from your merciful heart, that you may (as doubtless you shall do shortly) rejoice with his elect for ever.

You have so armed me to the Lord's battle both inwardly and outwardly, that except I be a very coward, I cannot faint, but overcome by death. You have appointed me to so good and gracious a General of the field, to so victorious a Captain, and to so favourable a Marshal, that if I should not go in lustily, there were no spectacle of heavenly manhood in me. I will present your coat of armour before my Captain, and in the same I trust by him to overcome. The scarf I desire as an outward sign to shew our enemies, who see not our glorious end, neither what God worketh inwardly in us, through the blindness of their hearts, that they persecute Christ's cross in us, whereby he hath sealed up the truth of his Gospel by his death unto us, that we by our death (if need be) might confirm the same, and never be ashamed whatsoever torment we do suffer for his name's sake; and our weak brethren seeing the same might be more encouraged to take up Christ's cross, and to follow him. God give us grace to do all things to his glory. Amen.

The world wondereth how we can be merry in such extreme misery, but our God is omnipotent, which turneth misery into felicity. Believe me, dear sister, there is no such joy in the world as the people of Christ have under the cross. I speak by experience; therefore believe me, and fear nothing that the world can do unto you. For when they im-

prison our bodies, they set our souls at liberty with God. When they cast us down, they lift us up; yea, then they kill us, then do they bring us to everlasting life. And what greater glory can there be, than to be at conformity with Christ; which afflictions do work in us.

God open our eyes to see more and more the glory of God in the cross of Jesus Christ, and make us worthy partakers of the same. Let us rejoice in nothing with St. Paul, but in the cross of Jesus Christ, by whom the world is crucified unto us, and we to the world. The cross of Christ be our standard to fight under for ever. While I am thus talking with you of our common consolation, I forget how I trouble you with my rude and inordinate tediousness; but you must impute it to love, which cannot quickly depart from them whom He loveth, that desireth to pour himself in their bosoms.

Therefore though your flesh would be offended (as it might justly be) at such rudeness, yet your spirit will say nay, which taketh all things in good part that come of love. And now I am departing; yet will I take my leave ere I go, and would fain speak somewhat that might declare my sincere love to you for ever. Farewell, O elect vessel of the Lord, to the comfort of his afflicted flock; farewell on earth, whom in heaven I am sure I shall not forget. Farewell under the cross most joyfully, and until we meet, always remember what Christ saith; Be of good cheer, for I have overcome the world, &c.

God pour his Spirit abundantly upon you, mine own dear bowels in Christ, until you may come to see the God of all gods with his elect in the everlasting Sion. I send to you the kiss of peace, with the which I do most entirely take my leave of you at this present. It is necessary we depart hence, or else we could not be glorified. Your heart is

heavy, because I say I must depart from you. It is the calling of the merciful Father, wherewithal you are content, and so am I. Be of good comfort, hold out your buckler of faith; for by the strength thereof we shall shortly meet in eternal glory: to the which Christ bring us both. Amen. Amen. The 10th of December 1555.

Death, why should I fear thee, since thou canst not hurt me, but rid me from misery unto eternal glory.

Dead to the world, and living to Christ, your own brother, sealed up in the verity of the Gospel for ever,

JOHN PHILPOT.

Another Letter of Master PHILPOT, written to the same Lady, being a great Supporter of him.

I cannot but most heartily give thanks for these his gifts in you, whose brightness many beholding that are weak, are much encouraged to seek God likewise, and to cleave to him, having the ensample of so faithful and constant a gentlewoman before their eyes. If the Queen of the South shall rise with the men of Christ's generation, and condemn them, for that she came from the ends of the world to hear the wisdom of Solomon; then shall your sincere and godly conversation, thus shining in this dangerous time of the trial of Christ's people (being a woman of right worshipful estate and wealthy condition), condemn in the latter day a great many of these faint-hearted gospellers, which so soon be gone back and turned from the truth, at the voice of a hand-maiden; seeing that neither the fear of imprisonment, neither the possessions of the world (wherewithal you are sufficiently indued above a great many), can separate you from the love of the truth,

which God hath revealed unto you. Whereby it appeareth that the seed of God's word, which was sown in you, fell neither in the highway, neither among the thorns, neither upon the stones, but upon a good ground, which is blessed of God, and bringeth forth fruit with great affliction, an hundred fold to the glory of God, and the increase of his church, &c.

In consideration whereof St. James biddeth us highly to rejoyce, whensoever we fall into many temptations, knowing that it is but the trial of our faith, that we might bring forth that excellent virtue patience, by the which we are made like unto our Redeemer Christ, with whom we here being like in suffering, assuredly shall hereafter be partakers of his eternal glory. Therefore St. Paul saith, "God forbid that I should glory in any but in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ." I that am under the cross with you (thanks be given to God therefor), have felt in the same more true joy and consolation than ever I did any benefit that God hath given me in my life before. For the more the world doth hate us, the nigher God is unto us, and there is no perfect joy but in God. Wherefore Christ said, "In me ye shall have joy, but in the world affliction." Blessed be God that sendeth us this affliction, that we might perfectly joy in him. For this cause in the ripest time of iniquity, and in the most fervent season of persecution of the true church, which Christ in the 21st of Luke prophesied to come, he willeth us to be of good cheer, and to lift up our heads, for our redemption is at hand.

Oh that the Lord would come and deliver us from this world, which is a vale of misery, unto his own kingdom, where floweth perpetual joy and consolation. And verily that is the true and only joy that is conceived, not of the creature, but of the Creator,

the which when we do possess, nobody can take it from us. To the which joy all other joys being compared, are but mournings, all delights sorrows, all sweetness sour, all beauty filth, and finally, all other things that be counted pleasant, are tediousness. Your own self is better witness of this than I: ask yourself, with whom you are best acquainted. Doth not the Holy Ghost speak the same in your heart? Have you not persuaded yourself this to be true, before I wrote thereof? For how should you, being a woman and a young gentlewoman, beautiful, and at your own liberty, have overcome this your frail kind and age, and despised your excellent beauty and estate, unless all those things which be subject to the senses had been counted of you vile, and little to be esteemed in comparison of those things which inwardly do comfort you, to overcome the flesh, the world, and the devil?

God increase your joy in all spiritual things, and stablish your hope to the day of eternal rest. You have forsaken darkness, and have entered into light: God grant the same may shine still in you, until the perfect day come of the Lord, in the which is all our consolation. Here we must be darkened, that there we may appear as bright as the sun in the face of the whole world, and of all them that would condemn us for our well doing; whose judges then we shall be, to their horrible grief, though now wrongfully they judge us. Pray heartily, and that often, that God once again for his Christ's sake would be merciful to his afflicted church in England. Faithful prayer is the only remedy that we have against the fiery darts of the devil, that be kindled against us. By prayer the Amalekites shall be overcome, and the roarings of the lion, which seeketh still to devour us, shall be stopped and put to silence. The Lord

stop Leviathan's mouth, that he swallow not up God's simple people, according to his expectation.

Praise the Lord for the faithful testimony and sacrifice which two of our brethren of late have through fire rendered to the truth of the Gospel, which now triumpheth by the death of godly martyrs. The Lord is at hand, therefore watch and pray. The last of May 1555, captive in the King's Bench.

Yours with heart in Christ,
JOHN PHILPOT.

*Another Letter of Master PHILPOT to the godly
Lady VANE.*

God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ increase in your godly heart the faith of the Gospel, which is your eternal inheritance, and the Holy Ghost comfort your spirit with all spiritual consolation, to the day of the Lord. Amen.

I cannot but praise God most highly and earnestly (my dear and faithful Lady) for the great and unfeigned love which you bear unto me in Christ, declared oftentimes, as well now as of late, by manifest and liberal tokens. Blessed be God that hath made you so worthy a member in his kingdom. For it cannot be but such shall reap with abundance in time of reward, that here do sow so plenteously in well-doing: albeit I am most unworthy to receive any such benefit at your hands, as in respect of a pillar of Christ's church, which am scarce a shadow thereof. But the zeal of Christ's church in you wisheth me to be such a one as the time doth require. God fulfil your desire of me, that I may be found constant, and no wandering star. I am not worthy of the name of a prophet, or of a minister of God's word, for that I have (being letted by the iniquity of time) little or

nothing laboured therein. I am a friend of our common spouse Jesus, and do rejoice in the verity of his word; for the which (praised be his name) he hath counted me worthy to suffer: and indeed "He that giveth a draught of water in the name of a disciple (as Christ hath promised), shall not lose his reward." Therefore, that your gentleness doth in the name of Him, the Lord recompense unto you in all his blessings, which he is accustomed to pour on them which love his flock unfeignedly.

Good Lady, you have to joy that the kingdom of God is thus continually before your eyes, and that you are not ashamed of the bands of Christ, which you with his people in part do suffer. They may be assured of the glory everlasting, which are not ashamed to take up the cross of Christ, and to follow him. Here we must weep and lament, while the world laugheth and triumpheth over us; but our tears shall shortly be turned into unspeakable joy, and we shall eternally be merry together, when the world shall lament their infidelity without end.

I would I were able to do any thing that might shew condign thanks for that sincere love you bear unto me in Christ. You adjure me in Christ (as it were) by your gentle letters to be bold on you in all my needs. I thank God which ceaseth not to provide for us, I lack nothing at this present, but only ability to thank your faithful heart for your goodness toward me. I love you and yours, as it is meet Christians to love another in God; and your faith which I behold in you, is more worth unto me than all your possessions. And I think I shall not need long to be chargeable unto you, for that this week I look for commissioners to sit on me and fellow-prisoners in prison, lest the spirit of our breath might blow further abroad. The will of God be done. We

are not so good as John the Baptist, which was beheaded in prison. Darkness cannot abide the light. Therefore their doings must declare what they are.

We are as sheep appointed as a sacrifice to the Lord. We must not fear the fire, for our Lord is a consuming fire, which will put out the raging torments for us. Be not afraid of them that can kill the body, but fear Him that can cast both body and soul into hell-fire. God forbid that we should rejoice otherwise than in the cross of Christ, and pray that he would make us worthy to suffer for his sake. God will have our faith tried and known; and therefore let us willingly humble ourselves under the mighty hand of God, that he may gloriously lift us up in his good time. There is none perfectly faithful indeed till he can say with St. Paul, "I am persuaded that neither death, neither life, neither angels, neither princes nor powers, neither things present, neither things to come, neither highness, neither lowness, neither any other creature, is able to separate us from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord." This faith God plant both in you and me unmoveably. In this faith we have to rejoice, and in none other.

All the tribulations of the world are not worthy of the eternal weight of glory which is prepared for them, that do with patience abide the cross. Wherefore let us be strong with the strength in Him, that is able to make us strong, and lament the weakness, I might say, the infidelity of our faint gospellers. Christ, whom we would pretend to have put upon us, is the strength of God, and how then may they be weak where Christ is? We have more to glad, touching ourselves, of this time, than we have had of any time before, in the which we have so ready a way to go unto God, and so good occasion to shew our duty in glorifying his holy name. For if we be

imprisoned in this cause, we are blessed. If we lose all that we have, we are blessed an hundred fold. If we die, we are blessed eternally ; so that in suffering of persecutions, all is full of blessings.

Be blessed therefore (O elect Lady) of God, with the blessed of God, and flee (as you do) the concupiscence of the world. Embrace that which is perfect, and joyfully looking for the coming and cross of our Lord Jesus Christ. Thus desiring God to preserve you to his true peace, and to give you victory of that temptation which is come to try our faith ; Christ be with you, and bless you both in body and soul ; and my prayer shall follow you where-soever you go, as I desire you may be with me. The last week I sent your beneficence to Oxford ; I could not before have convenient messenger. As soon as I have word, you shall be satisfied of your request. Love me as you do, and the God of love be with you. The 20th day of August.

By yours by all his power in the Lord,
JOHN PHILPOT.

Another Letter, full of spiritual Consolation, to the said Lady.

The mercy of God the Father, and the consolation of the Holy Ghost through Jesus Christ, be with you and strengthen you, my dear mother and sister in the Lord, in these dangerous days, in the crown of eternal glory, which is now offered to all faithful soldiers in the Gospel. Amen.

As your good Ladyship doth desire to hear from me, so am I desirous to write, as your gentleness and daily goodness bindeth me. But Satan of late hath letted me, who envying all good exercises which I have had and received by mine easy imprisonment in times past, hath brought me out of the King's

Bench into the Bishop of London's coal-house, as dark and as ugly a prison as any is about London (but my dark body of sin hath well deserved the same, and the Lord hath now brought me into outward darkness, that I might the more be lightened by him, as he is most present with his children in the midst of darkness), where I cannot be suffered to have any candle-light, neither ink nor paper, but by stealth. Wherefore I cannot write to you as I would, neither as my duty is. As Christ my master was sent from Annas to Caiaphas, so am I sent from Winchester diocese to London, I trust to make a speedy end of my course; God give me grace and patience to be a faithful follower of my Master. I have been already this sevensnight in his coal-house, and have of late been four times called to my answer, but hitherto not called to judgment, which I do daily look for; but I fear they will prolong me, and try me by strait imprisonment a while, in the which God's will be done.

Pray (dear lady) that my faith faint not, which I praise God is presently more lively with me than it hath been in times past. I taste and feel the faithfulness of God in his promise, who hath promised to be with his in their trouble, and to deliver them. I thank the Lord, I am not alone, but I have six other faithful companions, who in our darkness do cheerfully sing hymns and praises unto God for his great goodness.

We are so joyful, that I wish you part of my joy. For you that are so careful of my bodily relief, how can I but wish you spiritual consolation, and that abundantly? Let not (dear heart) my strait imprisonment any thing molest you: for it hath added and daily doth unto my joy; but rather be glad, and thankful unto God with me, that it hath pleased him to make me, most wretched sinner, worthy to suffer any

thing for his sake. Hitherto we have not resisted unto blood. God make us never to count our blood more precious in our eyes than his truth.

Ah, my dear sister, I thank you again for your last letter you sent me ; it is a singular comfort unto me, as oft as I read the same. I have it in my bosom, and will carry the same even to the stake with me, in witness that Christ hath so constant and faithful a lady in England. God succour and keep that spirit in you ; for it is the very spirit of adoption of the child of God. Such cheerful and holy spirits under the cross be acceptable sacrifices in the sight of God ; for Christ came to cast fire into the earth, and looketh that it should be kindled. Be you fervent in spirit in our Christ's cause, as you have begun, for that is the principal spirit wherewithal David desired to be confirmed. O how I do rejoice your Ladyship to go arm in arm with me unto Christ, or rather before me. I cannot but joy of such a worshipful fellow. Methinketh, I see you to mourn, and desire to be loosed out of the earthly and frail habitacle of this body.

O how amiable and pleasant is it to dwell in the Lord's tabernacle ! Our Christ and his heavenly company look for us ; let us haste and run thereto, for behold, the Lord is ready to embrace us. Mine own bowels in the Lord, be merry in the Lord with your afflicted brother, who daily offereth your merciful alms, which most unworthily I do receive still of you, unto the Lord. But now (dear mother) you need not to burden so much yourself (as my last letter did signify), for that chargeable imprisonment is cut off, and a little now serveth me ; wherefore I pray you send no more until I send to you, for I have sufficient and abound. God's peace be with you for ever.

Your own,

JOHN PHILPOT.

Another Letter of Master PHILPOT to the said Lady, wherein partly he complaineth of the Dissimulation and Perjury of Englishmen, falling again to the Pope, and partly he expresseth his Joy in his Afflictions.

I cannot but joy with you (my heartily beloved in Christ) of the fall of Sennacherib, since it is to the glory of God, and to the consolation of his church, to see the fall of their enemies before their face, according as it is written ; The just shall rejoice, when he seeth the vengeance of the wicked. God make this your joy perfect ; for as concerning myself, I count not to see those good days whereof you have a glimmering in this life ; for although the cockatrice be dead, yet his pestilent chickens, with the whore of Babylon, still liveth. But a great hope there is of their confusion shortly, because God doth not prosper their doings according to their expectation. Most happy shall he be, whom the Lord shall soonest take out of this life, that he may not see the plagues which the manifest perjury, and the manifold idolatry and detestable dissimulation, and that of such as do know the truth, do threaten to come.

The Lord is just, and all unrighteousness displeaseth him, and else here or else in another world he will punish this gross infidelity of the world : but his elect, and such as he loveth, will he punish here, that they should not be condemned hereafter with the world eternally : we have nothing so much to rejoice in, as in the cross of Jesus Christ, and in that we are partakers of his afflictions, which be the earnest-penny of that eternal kingdom, which he upon the cross for us hath purchased. For as Paul his faithful witness saith, “ If we suffer with him, we shall reign with him. If we die with him, we shall live with him.”

Wherefore (mine own dear bowels) praise God with me most entirely, that it hath pleased him now most mercifully to visit the sins of my youth, and my huge unthankfulness, and by the same doth give me much consolation, that he assureth me of his great goodness and mercy, and turneth his fatherly castigation into my crown of glory. O good God! what am I on whom he should shew this great mercy! To Him that is immortal, invisible, and only wise, be all honour, praise, and glory therefore. Amen.

This is the day that the Lord hath made, let us rejoice and be glad in the same. This is the way, though it be narrow, which is full of the peace of God, and leadeth to eternal bliss. O how my heart leapeth for joy, that I am so near the apprehension thereof! God forgive me mine unworthiness and unthankfulness of so great glory. The swords which pierced Mary's heart in the passion of our Saviour, which daily also go through your faithful heart, be more glorious and to be desired than the golden sceptres of this world. O blessed be they that mourn in this world to God-ward, for they shall be eternally comforted. God make my stony heart to mourn more than it doth. I have so much joy of the reward that is prepared for me, most wretched sinner, that though I be in place of darkness and mourning, yet I cannot lament, but both night and day am so joyful, as though I were under no cross at all: yea, in all the days of my life I was never so merry, the name of the Lord be praised for ever and ever, and he pardon mine unthankfulness. Our enemies do fret, fume, and gnash their teeth, to see and hear that we, under this grievous affliction in the world, can be so merry. We are of them counted as desperate persons, for the certain hope and feeling which we have of our everlasting salvation: and it is no marvel, for the worldly men cannot perceive the

things of God, it is mere foolishness and abomination to them.

Be thankful unto our God (mine own dear helper) for his wondrous working in his chosen people. Pray instantly that this joy be never taken from us, for it passeth all the delights of this world. This is the peace of God which surmounteth all understanding: this peace, the more his chosen be afflicted, the more they feel, and therefore cannot faint, neither for fire, neither for water. Let us pray for our weak brethren and sisters' sake, that it may please God to alleviate the grievous and intolerable burdens of these cruel days. But touching ourselves, let us heartily beseech our Saviour to vouchsafe to give us this glorious gift to suffer for his Gospel's sake, and that we may think the shame of the world to be our glory, as it is indeed. God increase our faith, and open our eyes to behold what is prepared for us. I lack nothing, praised be God. I trust, my marriage garment is ready. I will send you my examinations as soon as I can get them ready, if you be desirous of them.

God of his mercy fill your merciful heart with all joy and consolation of the hope to come.

Out of the coal-house, the 19th of November.

Your own lover,

JOHN PHILPOT.

Letter to Master ROBERT GLOVER, Prisoner in Coventry, for the Maintenance of God's Gospel.

The knowledge of God, which hath enlightened your mind with the true religion of Christ, and now doth in the beginning of darkness shine in you to the commendation of your true faith, and to the strength of many weak brethren, remain with you

to the end through the mighty operation of the Holy Ghost. Amen.

It is a singular comfort to the afflicted flock of Christ, to behold such as have been ministers and professors of his truth in religion, to stand in the same, and that in the time of persecution, when as the same may not be abidden by before the face of the rich and mighty in this world, to be preached without present danger. So Paul willeth Timothy both in season and out of season to be earnest in sowing the word. And praised be God that we here in prison for the testimony thereof, do hear of your diligence in this behalf, which cease not to do the office of an Evangelist, although it be with danger of afflictions.

Such faithful ministers be to be honoured that do submit their own heads to peril for the love of the Gospel. Such Christ will acknowledge and confess before his Father in heaven, that they are those which have bidden with him in temptations, and therefore shall eat and drink with him at his table in the kingdom of heaven. I thought it therefore my duty at the motion of this bearer, albeit I have no bodily acquaintance with you, to exhort you, as St. Paul willeth us to exhort one another as long as we are in this life, boldly to continue in this good and necessary work of the Lord, specially in these evil days, in the which Satan rageth against the church of Christ, and daily imprisoneth and robbeth the members thereof for their faithful testimony.

And be you assured he will not leave you untouched, for above all other he seeketh to suppress the good ministers of the word, for they be such as have destroyed his kingdom: but you must not for fear of his odious and tedious assaults, withdraw yourself from your vocation, but rather provoke him by your constant profession to do his worst, knowing

that the same shall turn unto you to the best, even to the crown of your glory. There is none crowned but such as hold out to the goal end, and therefore our Saviour Christ saith in the Gospel, "You run well, God is praised therein, and the afflicted church much comforted by so faithful a captain; run out therefore (as I doubt not you will), and fear nothing of that you shall suffer for your labour; for if you be faithful unto death, you shall assuredly have the reward of eternal life."

Many go on well till they come to the pikes, and then they turn their backs, and give over in the plain field, to the shame of Christ and his church, that hath so faint-hearted soldiers in his host at the time of need, in the which his glory ought most manfully to be shewed. I doubt not but you have already cast the price of this your building of the house of God, that it is like to be no less than your life: for I believe (as St. Paul saith) that "God hath appointed us in these latter days like sheep to the slaughter." Antichrist is come again, and he must make a feast to Beelzebub his father of many Christian bodies for the restoring again of his kingdom: let us watch and pray that the same day may not find us unready. The peace of God be with you, and remain with you for ever. Your loving brother in Christ and in spirit, your familiar friend, captive in the King's Bench,

JOHN PHILPOT.

To my dearly beloved Sister in the Lord, Mistress
HEATH.

The light of the Gospel of Christ, which hath enlightened you with the true understanding of faith, be daily increased in you, my dearly beloved sister,

unto the perfect day of the Lord, through the mighty operation of his Spirit. Amen.

Whereas you have required of me a token at your departing, that might be a remembrance with you of my brotherly love towards you, I mused of divers things what I might commend unto you best, and among all others, I found none so certain a token either of the love of God towards us, or else of the love of us one to another, as to bear the cross together with Christ. To bear the cross is to be partaker of the afflictions of Christ, which now he suffereth in his members for the accomplishment of his body the church, which are we that believe in him sincerely, which is the surest token of God's love towards us that we can have in this world. "For whom God loveth he chasteneth:" and as it is written, "He chasteneth every son whom he receiveth." Wherefore above all things love the cross of Christ, under the which all the church of Christ in England now is, and be content to have your faith tried every day by some cross or other, as it pleaseth God to put on you; and if God putteth no grievous cross upon you, let your brethren's cross be your cross, which is a certain token of true brotherly love.

If the church of England had learned with the Gospel to have borne the cross of Christ, as all that be professors of the Gospel be called thereunto, they would not so lightly, at the commandment of man, have turned from the ways of salvation to their old vomit again, contrary to their conscience, and all to avoid the cross, the merciful sign of God's love towards us. If the cross were not, the faithful could not be known. If the cross were not, God should not so manifestly appear to be our deliverer and comforter, as he doth shew himself in the midst thereof unto all them that put their trust in him.

Therefore believe them verily to be in most happy estate that be under the cross: and such as do utterly abhor the same, are cowards, and not fit soldiers for the Lord.

We have all received the credit of faith from God in Christ, that we should beautify the same, or rather God in the same. We have this treasure in brittle vessels: let us take heed that the brittleness of the vessel shed not our precious treasure on the earth, as it is lamentable to see at this day many have most unfaithfully done. Are they worthy of the heavenly kingdom, which here esteem more earth than heaven? O palpable infidelity! Will not God require the credit of faith which he hath committed unto us? Yea, verily, is this the usury of faith, to love the world more than the Gospel, and to fear man more than God? If men which count themselves stronger and worthier vessels have thus unfaithfully dealt in the things of God, let the weakness of women be more firm in their faith to the glory of God, whose might appeareth in weakness. There is no exception of persons before God: both man and woman be one in God: and that person in all sorts of people is acceptable to him that striveth to do his will.

Wherefore contend in these cross days, which be the love-days of God towards us, to shew yourselves faithful to Him that calleth you, and to be ready to do his will according to true knowledge, and that under the cross. God hath given you a faithful guide, whom see you love with all humility, patience, and obedience, as it becometh an holy woman to be subject to a faithful head in the Lord: and comfort him in our common cross, and bid him cheerfully take up the one, and you will bear the other, a double string knit together. As you in your godly matrimony do represent the mys-

tery of Christ and his church; so continue you lively members of faith in the same, and learn daily more and more to bear the cross of Christ, that others, seeing your strength, may be comforted, and be ashamed of their weakness in their Master's cause.

The faithful servant the Lord loveth which bringeth his talent to his table with increase. Now is the time to increase to the Lord, and not to decrease; to multiply our faith under the cross, and not to diminish it. "The ways of the just do increase as the dawning of the day:" embrace therefore the cross, as the rainbow of God's merciful covenant: pray that we may together end our course therein with joy. Take my token in good worth until we be made partakers of the glory of the cross. Out of my Lord of London's coal-house. The 11th of November.

Yours,

JOHN PHILPOT.

To my Brother, JOHN CARELESS, Prisoner in the King's Bench.

The grace of God the Father, through his dear Son Christ, our Saviour, with perseverance in all godly verity, be with thee, my dear brother Careless, and with all my prison-fellows. Amen.

Ah, my own love in Christ, I am sorry to hear of the great troubles which these schismatics do daily put thee to: I would I were with thee, in part to relieve thy grief; but since that it hath pleased God otherwise, take my advice in this your conflict, and be patient whatsoever your adversaries can say or do against you. Know that you are appointed for the defence of the Gospel, for the which you (God be praised) do suffer: yet you must understand that you are but a voice in the wilderness and a planter,

and that it is God which must give the increase. And therefore if there come not such fruit of your good labours, as you would wish, be content, and know that a stony ground cannot fructify, yet shall not God forget your labour, but you shall reap as plenteously in the day of reward, as though it increased after your expectation.

Have patience therefore in your labour, and let not care eat out your heart. Commit your success to God, and cease not with charity to be earnest in the defence of the truth against these arrogant and self-will blinded scatterers. These sects are necessary for the trial of our faith, and for the beautifying thereof. Be not perverted with them that be perverse and intractable: they resist not you, they resist Christ, and be workers against their own salvation. Shew as much modesty and humility as you may possibly: so shall your labour please God best, and your adversaries receive the more shame, and others seeing your modest conversation amongst these contentious babblers, shall glorify God in his truth by you, and the more abhor them, as you see it hath come to pass in times past.

Be content that Shimei do rail at David and cast stones awhile; be sure his railing judgment will fall upon his own pate. Have always that notable rule of Christ's church before your eyes, which St. Paul writeth, that "if any body be contentious, neither we, neither the church of God, hath any such custom."

Desire all our brethren in the bowels of Jesus Christ to keep the bond of peace, which is the unity of Christ's church, where be all the treasures of spiritual consolation in heavenly things. Let no root of bitterness spring up, which the devil with all diligence seeketh to thrust in amongst the children of God. Kiss one another with the kiss of unfeigned

brotherly love, and take one another by the hand cheerfully, and say, Let us take up our cross together, and go to the mount of Calvary, and there be willing to suffer whatsoever it pleaseth God we shall. Hitherto we have not resisted to blood-shedding. Our blood must not be too dear for the Lord, and then his kingdom shall not be too dear for us. Thus exhort one another to offer yourselves a joyful sacrifice unto God, for this is that pleasant sacrifice wherewith his wrath shall be pacified, which is now kindled most justly against us.

Be thankful unto God that it hath pleased him to make you worthy of this glorious affliction : yea, and I pray you give thanks unto God for me, that it hath been his good will to take me, most filthy and unthankful sinner, to be one of this number. My joy of the love of God towards me in this behalf is such, that it maketh all my strait imprisonment to seem pleasure. God be praised, I cannot be sorry, though I would. O how great is the love of God towards us !

Be merry, brethren, and rejoice continually in the Lord, for the victory is ours, yea, heaven is ours and all the glory thereof. Faint not, but run out ; for we are even at an end. Be glad of nothing so much as in the mortification of the old Adam : murmur in no case, whatsoever necessity you be in. Communicate your necessities to me, and to others of his people, and God will make us to divide stakes. Be always praising God, talking, comforting, teaching, and exhorting in God, and he will not see you utterly destitute. I commend me to your faithful prayers all. And you, Careless, see that you be in my dungeon with me, as I am in spirit with you in the King's Bench, and with you all.

Thine own brother,

JOHN PHILPOT.

To Mistress ANN HARTPOLE, who was fallen from the Sincerity of the Gospel, which she had before long known and professed, to the Pope and his idolatrous Religion.

The grace of God and true light, wherewith he lighteneth the hearts of all the true and faithful believers, lovers, and followers of his holy Gospel, lighten your heart by the mighty operation of his holy Spirit. Amen.

I have not hitherto been accustomed to write unto you in the matters of our common faith, which is now dangerously assaulted, especially for that otherwise by corporal presence and mutual conference we have had consolation in the same, as the time present did require. In the which I perceived your judgment and constancy to be so much, that I received by your good and godly example strength in the same, as I have done even from the beginning, before I was called unto the light of the Gospel, in the which you went before me, and ministered occasion to me to follow, at such time as that blessed woman, Ann Askew (now a glorious martyr in the sight of Jesus Christ), was harboured in your house : so that I thought it superfluous and not needful to write thereof unto you, that of so long time have been instructed, and by so many learned books confirmed.

But now hearing that the old serpent our ancient enemy, which lieth in continual wait of our steps, hath bitten you by the heel, and given you a foul fall, I cannot but be heartily sorry ; and as brotherly charity moveth me, testify the same unto you by writing, for that I may not presently otherwise open myself in this behalf. Alas ! sister, that so sincere a profession should receive so gross an infection, to the dishonour of God and of his church. What

meaneth it that you are so suddenly departed from Jerusalem unto Jericho, to be a companion of thieves and idolaters, to the utter overthrowing of that good which you have professed? For as St. James teacheth us, He that offendeth in one, is guilty in all; and to come to idolatry and strange worshipping of God, forbidden by his word, is of all transgressions the most detestable.

Therefore I cannot cease to wonder how you could so soon be allured or drawn thereto. I had thought the love of the truth had been so grafted in your heart, that neither persecution, sword, fire, nor gallows, might have brought this to pass, that at the voice of an handmaid in the first temptation, you should have denied Christ. For not to walk after the sincerity of his Gospel in deed, is to deny him; and none can be partakers of the Lord's table and of the table of devils, which is the Popish mass, and the malignant synagogue using the same.

Methink I hear your excuse, pretending your conscience to be sound before God notwithstanding, and that your conscience will give you leave thus to do with the common sort of dissemblers both with God and man: but I must tell you plain (sister), in God's cause, that your conscience so affected, is a sickly and unsound conscience, and craftily blinded, for before God there is no such conscience allowed, which alloweth your body to do that which it condemneth. "We shall receive all according to that which we do in our bodies, whether it be good or evil;" and it is commanded us as well to "glorify God in our bodies as in our souls." We must shew our faith by our outward conversation, that "men seeing our good works, might glorify our Father which is in heaven."

Will ye now with your presence go about to beautify that which hitherto you have justly destroyed? What do you else in so doing, but notify yourself to

be an infidel to the church of Christ, that will be content to associate yourself with her enemy, for the contentation of man? Hath ever any person of God so done, that was allowed therein? Be not deceived, good sister, with the persuasible words of man, neither be afraid of his threats. Follow the Gospel of Christ according to true knowledge, and fear to do that which by the same is straitly forbidden you. Tempt not God any longer by this evil doing, for you can do nothing more heinous in his sight. Let this halting be healed up, and turn not from the right ways of the Lord.

Be not ashamed of his Gospel, neither of his cross, with the badge of the true and unfeigned professors thereof, which you see now his faithful (praised be his name therefor) are so well content and willing to bear. But rather as you are called, take up your cross, and be assured thereby to enter into Christ's glory: for unless we suffer with him, we shall not reign with him, and if we die not with Christ, we shall not live with Christ. The cross now is the ready way to heaven, therefore I wish you should choose to be afflicted with the people of God, rather than to live in the tabernacles of the wicked.

Do not any more that which of all things ye have now most cause to repent: rather lay daily the foundation of repentance, but let this fall be a teaching unto you of the want of faith which is in you, and so become more fervent in prayer and godly exercises, that with this new year ye may become a new woman in a godly and new perfection, the which God for his mercy sake in Christ, work both in you and me to the end. Amen.

Written in haste by your brother in captivity,

JOHN PHILPOT.

To a faithful Woman, and late Wife to one of the Bishops, which gave their Lives in the Lord's Quarrel.

Remember, dear sister, that your life in this world is a continual warfare, to fight against the world, the flesh, and the devil, in the which you are appointed for the trial of your faith and love to God to fight manfully to overcome: for the Spirit of God which is in you, is stronger than he which is in the world, and by this you may know that you are the child of God, even by the spirit which striveth in you against the flesh and sin, and will not suffer sin to reign in you. This spirit is obtained by often and daily reading and hearing the word of God, joined with faithful and hearty prayer: for diligent reading of God's word planteth the holy spirit in you, and earnest prayer increaseth the same. Read therefore the word studiously, and pray heartily that the same good gift of faith which you have learned of your faithful husband and good bishop in the Lord, who hath gloriously yielded his life for the same, may be confirmed in you even unto death, that you may receive the same crown of glory, which he now hath. For precious is the death of the faithful in the Lord's sight; therefore desire still to die to the Lord, and be glad to be poor both in body and spirit, and thus assure yourself the kingdom of heaven is yours.

Your own in the Lord,

JOHN PHILPOT.

A Letter of Master PHILPOT, written to certain of his faithful Friends, as his last Farewell a little before he suffered.

The knowledge of God, which hath enlightened you with true understanding of the Gospel of Christ,

be remaining with you still to the end, and be augmented in your hearts and doings through the operation of the Holy Spirit, to the glory of God and your eternal salvation. Amen.

A man that is passing into far countries, before his departing, committeth such goods as God hath endued him withal to his dearest friends, to the end that they might be the better by them, if he return not again. Even so, dearly beloved, and right worshipful, my good friends, I having shortly to pass unto my heavenly inheritance which is hidden with Christ, and to our common country and eternal dwelling-place, which we shall have of God, never to return before the latter day, in the which our souls shall come to judgment, and receive their bodies to be glorified, according to their doings, have thought it my duty to communicate unto you something (with whom I have found great humanity) of the few heavenly treasures, with the which God among others hath endued me in Christ, whereby he hath made me his child, and assuredly the inheritor of the kingdom of heaven, with all those which unfeignedly love him, and constantly cleave to his holy Gospel; and that is, by the renovation of his image, whereunto man was first created like unto God, which is to be in the favour of God, to know God truly, to live justly, to delight fervently in the contemplation of God, to be continually happy, to be immortal, void of all corruption and sin: the which blessed image through sin is deformed in us, and in a manner lost, saving that it hath pleased God of his mercy (who willeth not the death of a sinner) to restore that image by grace, through knowledge and belief of the Gospel, which otherwise in our nature is clean suppressed and extinguished.

Therefore we, knowing the great and lamentable loss which we do sustain in Adam, ought most ear-

nestly to seek the recovery thereof, that we might eternally live like unto God in immortality and felicity; the which we shall never recover, unless we go about to mortify our outward man all the days of our life more and more, and be renewed in spirit, according to the true knowledge of God: the which if we be, then may we be assured that we have found that joy, felicity, and eternal life, which Adam had in paradise, yea, and more than that ten thousand fold, for that it is such as the eye hath not seen, the ear hath not heard, neither the heart can conceive, which Christ hath prepared for us. This image of God, whosoever by faith doth find, he hath found the most precious treasure that any man can find, for he is even a citizen of heaven and in possession of eternal life.

Therefore I count unto you principally a daily care of the renovation of this image, as the chiefest jewel you can desire in this world. And thereof now I am the more moved to put you in remembrance, because I love you entirely in the Lord, and desire your fellowship, which the iniquity of your time will not permit me to enjoy here. And forasmuch as we have a better life to come than this present is, an eternal society with Christ, which neither the malice, neither the distance of place can dissolve or separate, I exhort you now as one that hath obtained mercy of God in the reparation of his image in me, to embrace the care thereof, with earnest desire to attain the same, whereby we shall all have a perfect fruition of our love and friendship, which already we have here begun, and with God in heaven shall be (without all doubt) made joyfully perfect.

Let this be a perpetual remembrance of your poor afflicted friend, which daily looketh through fire to enter into that eternal life, where he trusteth assuredly to enjoy your fellowship, if the image of God

be renewed in you, through the knowledge of Christ, which you have received and do know. Look whose image the coin beareth, his it is seemably. If your conversation be after the Gospel, verily you are the elect of Christ : but if it be according to the world, his servants you are whom your life doth express.

We have all in baptism put on Christ, whom if we endeavour to represent, we are indeed the sons of God and inheritors with Christ. One good rule St. Paul to the Romans, in the 12th chapter, doth appoint for the restoration of this our image of God : “ Fashion not yourselves (saith he) unto this world, but be ye changed in your shape, by the renewing of your mind, that ye may prove what is the will of God, which thing is good, acceptable, and perfect.” God grant that this rule may take place with you, and then doubtless our company shall be inseparable with all the saints of God in eternal bliss.

Be you not deceived by the vain possessions and uncertain pleasures of this world, which serve to none other purpose than to blind your eyes, that they might not behold the things which be glorious and permanent for ever. The things which we see, are mortal ; but the things which we see not, but certainly hope for, be immortal. For “ all flesh,” as the Prophet Isaiah saith, “ is but grass, and the glory thereof as the flower of the field.” Oh that you, which have the possessions of this world, would so account them, and not sell your eternal inheritance for a mess of porridge, as Esau did ! God open your eyes, that you may see the glory of Christ in the mount with Peter, John, and James. Then I doubt not, you would say with Peter, “ Lord, it is good for us to abide here : let us here make our dwelling-places.”

We have in this world no firm mansion, but we

seek after that which is to come : the which if we seek now where it may be found, we shall surely find it. If we mortify the image of Adam, which through sin reigneth in our flesh, then shall the image of Christ revive in us to our eternal glory. We are all baptized to die with Christ, to the end we should walk in newness of life, as persons dead to the world, and living to God. And if we die with him by crucifying our concupiscence and lusts, we shall eternally live. Infidelity is the cause of all our misery : which causeth us to fear man more than God, and to esteem the things present more than the things to come. God enlighten our eyes, that we may understand how precious an inheritance Christ hath prepared for such as hunger and thirst thereafter. Then, I doubt not, we would say with St. Paul, I am surely persuaded that neither death nor life, neither angels, nor rule, neither power, neither things present, neither things to come, neither any other treasure or creature, shall separate us from the love which is in Christ Jesus.

The Lord increase our faith, and give us his holy Spirit to discern with ourselves, how much we are grown in his image, and are like unto him ; for how much we are unlike to the world, so much more are we like unto God, and so much the more do we approach unto him. The Lord draw you by his holy Spirit, and fashion you unto his likeness, that we may eternally live together. The means to come thereunto, is diligent exercise in God's word ; continual and faithful prayer ; a desire and love to God ; the fear of God ; the contempt of the world ; and a constant faith in the knowledge of his word, joined with the works of righteousness.

This is the sum of all our Christian religion which we do profess, which if we follow, happy are we that ever we were born. But if we be negligent in

this, it had been better for us never to be born: for cursed are they that desert from the Lord and his holy commandments, and have their delights in the vanities of this world. Cease not to follow the image of God, and to express the same in yourselves to the glory of God, and then God will glorify you for his image sake, which he maketh to live in you. We are all weak in transforming the same in us at the beginning; for our flesh is clean contrary to it.

But we must not give over by lawful striving, till we may say with St. Paul, “ Now live I, but not I, but Christ in me.” The Lord grant that Christ, which by the Gospel is planted in us, may be fashioned in our godly conversation, to the glory of God, and to the good example of our brethren, that our temporal life may be changed into eternal life, and our friendship in God eternally endure. Amen.

This last farewell I send unto you to be a token of my love, until we shall meet in the kingdom of Christ, there to rejoice perfectly of that godly fellowship which here we have had on the earth. God hasten that meeting, and deliver you from the temptation which is now come upon the church of England, for the trial of such as be faithful in the Lord's Testament, to the crown of their glory, if they be found faithful to the end.

Let us watch and pray one for another, that these evil days do not overwhelm us, in the which our adversary the devil goeth about like a roaring lion seeking whom he may devour. The peace of God remain with you for ever. Written in the King's Bench by one of the poor captive sheep of Christ, appointed to the slaughter for the testimony of the truth, where he doth joy, and wisheth you to joy, praising God with him. Amen.

JOHN PHILPOT.

A Letter of Master PHILPOT to a Friend of his, Prisoner the same Time in Newgate : wherein is debated and discussed the Matter or Question of Infants to be baptized.

The God of all light and understanding lighten your hearts with all true knowledge of his word, and make you perfect to the day of our Lord Jesus Christ, whereunto you are now called, through the mighty operation of his holy Spirit. Amen.

I received yesternight from you (dear brother and fellow-prisoner for the truth of Christ's Gospel) a letter, wherein you gently require my judgment concerning the baptism of infants, what is the effect thereof. And before I do shew you what I have learned out of God's word and of his true and infallible church touching the same, I think it is not out of the matter first to declare what vision I had the same night whiles musing on your letter I fell asleep, knowing that God doth not without cause reveal to his people, who have their minds fixed on him, special and spiritual revelation to their comfort, as a taste of their joy and kingdom to come, which flesh and blood cannot comprehend.

Being in the midst of my sweet rest, it seemed to me to see a great beautiful city all of the colour of azure and white, four square in a marvellous beautiful composition in the midst of the sky, the sight whereof so inwardly comforted me, that I am not able to express the consolation I had thereof; yea, the remembrance thereof causeth as yet my heart to leap for joy: and as charity is no churl, but would others to be partakers of his delight, so, methought, I called to others (I cannot tell whom), and whiles they came, and we together beheld the same, by and by, to my great grief, it faded away.

This dream I think not to have come of the illu-

sion of the senses, because it brought with it so much spiritual joy, and I take it to be of the working of God's Spirit, for the contentation of your request, as he wrought in Peter to satisfy Cornelius. Therefore I interpret this beautiful city to be the glorious church of Christ, and the appearance of it in the sky, signifieth the heavenly state thereof, whose conversation is in heaven, and that according to the primitive church which is now in heaven, men ought to measure and judge the church of Christ now in earth. For as the Prophet David saith, The foundations thereof be in the holy hills, and glorious things be spoken of the city of God. And the marvellous quadrature of the same, I take to signify the universal agreement in the same, and that all the church here militant ought to consent to the primitive church throughout the four parts of the world, as the Prophet affirmeth, saying, God maketh us to dwell after one manner in one house.

And that I conceived so wonderful joy at the contemplation thereof, I understand the unspeakable joy which they have that be at unity with Christ's primitive church: for there is joy in the Holy Ghost, and peace, which passeth all understanding, as it is written in the Psalms; "As of joyful persons is the dwelling of all them that be in thee." And that I called others to the fruition of this vision, and to behold this wonderful city, I construe by the will of God this vision to have come upon me, musing on your letter, to the end, that under this figure I might have occasion to move you, with many others, to behold the primitive church in all your opinions concerning faith, and to conform yourself in all points to the same, which is the pillar and establishment of truth, and teacheth the true use of the sacraments; and having with a greater fulness than we have now, the first fruits of the Holy Ghost, did declare the

true interpretation of the Scriptures according to all verity, even as our Saviour promised to send them another Comforter, which should teach them all truth.

And since all truth was taught and revealed to the primitive church, which is our mother, let us all that be obedient children of God submit ourselves to the judgment of the church, for the better understanding of the articles of our faith, and of the doubtful sentences of the Scripture. Let us not go about to shew in us, by following any private man's interpretation upon the word, another spirit than they of the primitive church had, lest we deceive ourselves. For there is but one faith and one spirit, which is not contrary to himself, neither otherwise now teacheth us than he did them. Therefore let us believe as they have taught us of the Scriptures, and be at peace with them, according as the true catholic church is at this day: and the God of peace assuredly will be with us, and deliver us out of all our worldly troubles and miseries, and make us partakers of all their joy and bliss, through our obedience to faith with them.

Therefore God commandeth us in Job to ask of the elder generation, and to search diligently the memory of the fathers. For we are but yesterday's children, and be ignorant, and our days are like a shadow, and they shall teach thee (saith the Lord) and speak to thee, and shall utter words from their hearts. And by Solomon we are commanded not to reject the direction of our mother. The Lord grant you to direct your steps in all things after her, and to abhor contention with her. For, as St. Paul writeth, "If any man be contentious, neither we, neither the church of God, hath any such custom."

Hitherto I have shewed you (good brother S.) my judgment generally of that you stand in doubt, and

dissent from others, to the which I wish you as my own heart to be conformable, and then doubtless you cannot err, but boldly may be glad in your troubles, and triumph at the hour of your death, that you shall die in the church of God a faithful martyr, and receive the crown of eternal glory. And thus much have I written upon the occasion of a vision before God unfeigned. But that you may not think that I go about to satisfy you with uncertain visions only, and not after God's word, I will take the ground of your letter, and speedily answer to the same by the Scriptures and by infallible reasons deduced out of the same, and prove the baptism of infants to be lawful, commendable, and necessary, whereof you seem to stand in doubt.

Indeed if you look upon the Papistical synagogue only, which hath corrupted God's word by false interpretations, and hath perverted the true use of Christ's sacrament, you might seem to have good handfast of your opinion against the baptism of infants. But forasmuch as it is of more antiquity, and hath its beginning from God's word, and from the use of the primitive church, it must not in respect of the abuse in the Popish church be neglected, or thought not expedient to be used in Christ's church.

Aurentius, one of the Arians' sect, with his adherents, was one of the first that denied the baptism of children, and next after him Pelagius the heretic; and some others there were in St. Bernard's time, as it doth appear by his writings, and in our days the Anabaptists, an inordinate kind of men stirred up by the devil, to the destruction of the Gospel.

But the catholic truth delivered unto us by the Scripture plainly determineth, that all such are to be baptized as whom God acknowledgeth for his people, and voucheth them worthy of sanctification or remission of their sins. Therefore since that infants be

in the number or scroll of God's people, and be partakers of the promise by their purification in Christ, it must needs follow thereby that they ought to be baptized, as well as those that can profess their faith. For we judge the people of God as well by the free and liberal promise of God, as by the confession of faith. For to whomsoever God promiseth himself to be their God, and whom he acknowledgeth for his, those no man without impiety may exclude from the number of the faithful. But God promiseth that he will not only be the God of such as do profess him, but also of infants, promising them his grace and remission of sins, as it appeareth by the words of the covenant made unto Abraham: "I will set my covenant between thee and me (saith the Lord), and between thy seed after thee in thy generations, with an everlasting covenant, to be thy God, and the God of thy seed after thee." To the which covenant circumcision was added, to be a sign of sanctification, as well in children as in men; and no man may think that this promise is abrogated with circumcision and other ceremonial laws. For Christ came to fulfil the promises, and not to dissolve them. Therefore in the Gospel he saith of infants, that is, of such as yet believed not, "Let the little ones come unto me, and forbid them not, for of such is the kingdom of heaven."

Again, "It is not the will of your Father which is in heaven, that any of these little ones should perish." Also, "He that receiveth one such little child in my name, receiveth me." "Take heed therefore that ye despise not one of these babes; for I tell you, their angels do continually see in heaven my Father's face." And what may be said more plain than this, "It is not the will of the heavenly Father, that the infants should perish?" Whereby we may gather that he receiveth them freely unto his grace, although as

yet they confess not their faith. Since then that the word of the promise, which is contained in baptism, pertaineth as well to children as to men, why should the sign of the promise, which is baptism in water, be withdrawn from children, when Christ himself commandeth himself to be received of us, and promiseth the reward of a prophet to those that receive such a little infant, as he for an example did put before his disciples?

Now I will prove with manifest arguments that children ought to be baptized, and that the Apostles of Christ did baptize children. The Lord commanded his Apostles to baptize all nations; therefore also children ought to be baptized, for they are comprehended under this word, “all nations.”

Further, whom God doth account among the faithful, they are faithful, for it was said to Peter, that “that thing which God hath purified, thou shalt not say to be common or unclean:” but God hath reputed children among the faithful: therefore they be faithful, except we had rather to resist God, and seem stronger and wiser than he.

And without all doubt the Apostles baptized those, which Christ commanded: but he commanded the faithful to be baptized, among the which infants be reckoned: the Apostles then baptized infants.

The Gospel is more than baptism; for Paul said, The Lord sent me to preach the Gospel, and not to baptize: not that he denied absolutely that he was sent to baptize, but that he preferred doctrine before baptism, for the Lord commanded both to the Apostles: but children be received by the doctrine of the Gospel of God, and not refused: therefore what person being of reason may deny them baptism, which is a thing lesser than the Gospel? For in the sacrament be two things to be considered, the thing signified, and the sign; and the thing signified is

greater than the sign, and from the thing signified in baptism, children are not excluded: who therefore may deny them the sign, which is baptism in water?

St. Peter could not deny them to be baptized in water, to whom he saw the Holy Ghost given, which is the certain sign of God's people: for he saith in the Acts, "May any forbid them to be baptized in water, who have received the Holy Ghost as well as we?" Therefore St. Peter denied not baptism to infants; for he knew certainly both by the doctrine of Christ, and by the covenant which is everlasting, that the kingdom of heaven pertained to infants.

None be received into the kingdom of heaven, but such as God loveth, and which are endued with the Spirit: for whoso hath not the Spirit of God, he is none of his. But infants be beloved of God, and therefore want not the Spirit of God: wherefore if they have the Spirit of God as well as men, if they be numbered among the people of God, as well as we that be of age, who (I pray you) may well withstand children to be baptized with water, in the name of the Lord?

The Apostles in times past being not sufficiently instructed, did murmur against those, which brought their children unto the Lord; but the Lord rebuked them, and said, "Let the babes come unto me." Why then do not these rebellious Anabaptists obey the commandment of the Lord? For what do they now-a-days else that bring their children to baptism, than that they did in time past, which brought their children to the Lord, and our Lord received them, and putting his hand upon them blessed them, and both by words and gentle behaviour towards them, declared manifestly that children be the people of God, and entirely beloved of God. But some will

say, Why did not Christ baptize them? Because it is written, Jesus himself baptized not, but his disciples.

Moreover, circumcision in the old law was ministered to infants; therefore, baptism ought to be ministered in the new law unto children. For baptism is come in the stead of circumcision, as St. Paul witnesseth, saying to the Colossians, "By Christ ye are circumcised with a circumcision which is without hands, when ye put off the body of sin of the flesh, by the circumcision of Christ, being buried together with him through baptism." Behold Paul calleth baptism the circumcision of a Christian man, which is done without hands, not that water may be ministered without hands, but that with hands no man any longer ought to be circumcised, albeit the mystery of circumcision do still remain in faithful people.

To this I may add, that the servants of God were always ready to minister the sacraments to them, for whom they were instituted. As for an example, we may behold Joshua, who most diligently procured the people of Israel to be circumcised before they entered into the Land of Promise; but since the Apostles were the preachers of the word, and the very faithful servants of Jesus Christ, who may hereafter doubt that they baptized infants, since baptism is in place of circumcision?

Likewise the Apostles did attemperate all their doings to the shadows and figures of the Old Testament: therefore, it is certain that they did attemperate baptism according to circumcision, and baptized children because they were under the figure of baptism; for the people of Israel passed through the Red Sea, and the bottom of the water of Jordan, with their children. And although their children be not always expressed, neither the women in the

Holy Scriptures, yet they are comprehended and understood in the same.

Also the Scripture evidently telleth us, that the Apostles baptized whole families or households: but the children be comprehended in a family or household, as the chiefest and dearest part thereof; therefore we may conclude, that the Apostles did baptize infants, or children, and not only men of lawful age. And that the house, or household, is taken for man, woman, and child, it is manifest in the 17th of Genesis, and also in that Joseph doth call Jacob with all his house, to come out of the land of Canaan into Egypt.

Finally, I can declare out of ancient writers, that the baptism of infants hath continued from the Apostles' time unto ours, neither that it was instituted by any councils, neither of the Pope, nor of other men, but commended from the Scriptures by the Apostles themselves. Origen upon the declaration of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, expounding the sixth chapter, saith, that "the church of Christ received the baptism of infants from the very Apostles." St. Hierome maketh mention of the baptism of infants, in the third book against the Pelagians; and in his epistle to Leta, St. Austin reciteth for this purpose a place out of John, Bishop of Constantinople, in his first book against Julian, chapter 2; and he again writing to St. Hierome (epistle 26), saith, that St. Cyprian not making any new decree, but firmly observing the faith of the church, judged with his fellow-bishops, that, as soon as one was born, he might be lawfully baptized. The place of Cyprian is to be seen in his epistle to Fidus.

Also St. Austin, in writing against the Donatists, in the fourth book (chap. 23 and 24), saith, that the baptism of infants was not derived from the

authority of man, neither of councils, but from the traditions or doctrine of the Apostles.

Cyril upon Leviticus (chapter 8) approveth the baptism of children, and condemneth the iteration of baptism. These authorities of men I do allege, not to tie the baptism of children unto the testimony of men, but to shew how men's testimonies do agree with God's word, and the verity of antiquity is on our side, and that the Anabaptists have nothing but lies for them, and new imaginations, which feign the baptism of children to be the Pope's commandments.

After this will I answer to the sum of your arguments for the contrary. The first which includeth all the rest, is, it is written, "Go ye into all the world, and preach the glad tidings to all creatures. He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved: but he that believeth not, shall be damned."

To this I answer, that nothing is added to God's word by baptism of children, as you pretend, but that is done which the same word doth require, for that children are accounted of Christ in the Gospel among the number of such as believe, as it appeareth by these words; "He that offendeth one of these little babes which believe in me, it were better for him to have a mill-stone tied about his neck, and to be cast into the bottom of the sea." Where plainly Christ calleth such as be not able to confess their faith, believers; because of his mere grace he reputeth them for believers. And this is no wonder so to be taken, since God imputeth faith for righteousness unto men that be of riper age: for both in men and children righteousness, acceptation, or sanctification, is of mere grace and by imputation, that the glory of God's grace might be praised.

And that the children of faithful parents are sanctified, and among such as do believe, is apparent in the 1 Cor. vii. And whereas you do gather by the

order of the words in the said commandment of Christ, that children ought to be taught before they be baptized, and to this end you allege many places out of the Acts, proving that such as confessed their faith first, were baptized after : I answer, that if the order of words might weigh any thing in this cause, we have the Scripture that maketh as well for us. For in St. Mark we read, that John did baptize in the desert, preaching the baptism of repentance. In the which place we see baptizing go before, -and preaching to follow after.

And also I will declare this place of Matthew exactly considered, to make for the use of baptism in children, for St. Matthew hath it written in this wise ; “ All power is given me (saith the Lord) in heaven and in earth, therefore go forth ;” that is, disciple ye (as I may express the signification of the word) ; that is, make or gather to me disciples of all nations. And following, he declareth the way how they should gather to him disciples out of all nations, baptizing them and teaching : by baptizing and teaching ye shall procure a church to me. And both these aptly and briefly severally he setteth forth, saying, Baptize them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you. Now then baptism goeth before doctrine.

But hereby I do not gather, that the Gentiles which never heard any thing before of God, and of the Son of God, and of the Holy Ghost, ought to be baptized, neither they would permit themselves to be baptized before they knew to what end. But this I have declared, to shew you on how feeble a foundation the Anabaptists be grounded. And plainly it is not true which they imagine of this text, that the Lord did only command such to be baptized

whom the Apostles had first of all taught. Neither here verily is signified who only be to be baptized, but he speaketh of such as be of perfect age, and of the first foundations of faith, and of the church to be planted among the Gentiles, which were as yet rude and ignorant of religion.

Such as be of age may hear, believe, and confess that which is preached and taught, but so cannot infants; therefore we may justly collect, that he speaketh here nothing of infants or children: but for all this they be not excluded from baptism.

It is a general rule; he that doth not labour, must not eat. But who is so barbarous that might think hereby, that children should be famished?

The Lord sent his Apostles at the beginning of the setting up his true religion unto all nations, unto such as were ignorant of God, and were out of the covenant of God; and truly such persons it behoveth not first to be baptized, and afterwards taught; but first to be taught, and after baptized. If at this day we should go to the Turks to convert them to the faith of Christ, verily first we ought to teach them, and afterwards baptize such as would yield to be the servants of Christ. Likewise the Lord himself in times past did, when first he renewed the covenant with Abraham, and ordained circumcision to be a seal of the covenant, after that Abraham was circumcised. But he, when he perceived the infants also to pertain to the covenant, and that circumcision was the sealing up of the covenant, did not only circumcise Ishmael his son that was thirteen years of years, but all other infants that were born in his house, among whom we reckon Isaac.

Even so faithful people which were converted from heathen idolatry by the preaching of the Gospel, and confessing their faith, were baptized; when they understood their children to be counted among the

people of God, and that baptism was the token of the people of God, they procured also their children to be baptized. Therefore as it is written, "Abraham circumcised all the male children of his house." Semblably we read in the Acts and the writings of the Apostles, that after the master of the house was turned to the faith, all the whole house was baptized. And as concerning those which of old time were compelled to confess their faith before they received baptism, which were called *catechumens*, they were such as with our forefathers came from the Gentiles to the church, who being yet rude of faith, they did instruct in the principles of their belief, and afterward they did baptize them; but the same ancient fathers notwithstanding did baptize the children of faithful men, as I have already partly declared.

And because you do require a hasty answer to your letter of one that is but a dull writer, I am here enforced to cease particularly to go through your letter in answering thereto, knowing that I have fully answered every part thereof, in that I have already written, although not in such order as it had been meet, and as I purposed. But forasmuch as I understand that you will be no contentious man, neither in this matter, neither in any other, contrary to the judgment of Christ's primitive church, which is the body and fulness of Christ, I desire you in the entire love of him, or rather Christ desireth you by me (that your joy may be perfect, whereto you are now called), to submit your judgment to that church, and to be at peace and unity with the same, that the coat of Christ, which ought to be without seam, but now, alas! most miserably is torn in pieces by many dangerous sects and damnable opinions, may appear by you in no part to have been rent, neither any giddy-head in those dog-days might take an example

from you to dissent from Christ's true church : I beseech thee, dear brother in the Gospel, follow the steps of the faith of the glorious martyrs in the primitive church, and of such as at this day follow the same ; decline not from them, neither to the right hand nor to the left.

Then shall death, be it never so bitter, be more sweet than this life ; then shall Christ with all the heavenly Jerusalem triumphantly embrace your spirit with unspeakable gladness and exultation, who in this earth was content to join your spirits with their spirits, according as it is commanded by the word, that the spirit of the Prophets should be subject to the Prophets. One thing ask with David ere you depart, and require the same, that you may dwell with a full accord in his house, for there is glory and worship : and so with Simeon in the temple embracing Christ, depart in peace : to the which peace Christ bring both you and me, and all our loving brethren that love God in the unity of the faith, by such ways as shall please him, to his glory. Let the bitter passion of Christ, which he suffered for your sake, and the horrible torments which the godly martyrs of Christ have endured before us, and also the inestimable reward of your life to come, which is hidden yet a little while from you with Christ, strengthen, comfort, and encourage you to the end of that glorious race which you are in. Amen.

Your yoke-fellow in captivity for the verity of Christ's Gospel, to live and die with you in the unity of faith.

JOHN PHILPOT.

THE
STORY, LIFE, ADMONITION,
AND
MARTYRDOM
OF
JOHN ROGERS,
PREBENDARY OF ST. PAUL'S,
AND
THE FIRST MARTYR
IN THE REIGN OF
QUEEN MARY.



THE LIFE, ADMONITION, and MARTYRDOM

OF

JOHN ROGERS.

JOHN ROGERS was brought up in the university of Cambridge, where he profitably travailed in good learning, and at the length was chosen and called by the merchants to be their chaplain at Antwerp in Brabant. He served them to their good contentation many years. It chanced him there to fall in company with that worthy servant and martyr of God, William Tindal, and with Miles Coverdale, which both for the hatred they bare to Popish superstitions and idolatry, and love to true religion, had forsaken their native country. In conferring with them the Scriptures he came to great knowledge in the Gospel of God, insomuch that he cast off the heavy yoke of Popery, perceiving it to be impure and filthy idolatry, and joined himself with them two in that most painful and profitable labour of translating the Bible into the English tongue, which is intituled, The Translation of Thomas Mathew. He, knowing by the Scriptures that unlawful vows may lawfully be broken, and that matrimony is both honest and honourable amongst all men, joined himself in lawful matrimony; and so went to Wittenburg in Saxony, where he with much soberness of living did not only greatly increase in all good and godly learning, but also so much profited in the knowledge of the Dutch tongue, that the charge of a congregation was orderly committed to his cure.

In which ministry he diligently and faithfully served many years, until such time as it pleased God by the faithful travail of his chosen and dear servant King Edward the Sixth, utterly to banish all Popery

out of England, and to revive true religion, setting God's Gospel at liberty. He then being orderly called, having both a conscience and a ready good will to help forward the work of the Lord in his native country, left such honest and certain conditions as he had in Saxony, and came into England to preach the Gospel, without certainty of any condition. In which office, after he had a space diligently and faithfully travailed, Nicholas Ridley, then Bishop of London, gave him a prebend in the cathedral church of St. Paul; and the dean and chapter chose him to be the reader of the divinity lecture there, wherein he diligently travailed, until such time as Queen Mary, obtaining the crown, banished the Gospel and true religion, and brought in the antichrist of Rome with his idolatry and superstition.

After the Queen was come to the tower of London, he, being orderly called thereunto, made a godly and vehement sermon at Paul's cross, confirming such true doctrine as he and others had there taught in King Edward's days, exhorting the people constantly to remain in the same, and to beware of all pestilent Popery, idolatry, and superstition. The council being then overmatched with Popish and bloody bishops, called him to account for his sermon. To whom he made a stout, witty, and godly answer, and yet in such sort handled himself that at that time he was clearly dismissed. But after that proclamation was set forth by the Queen to prohibit true preaching, he was called again before the council; for the bishops thirsted after his blood. The council quarrelled with him concerning his doctrine, and in conclusion commanded him as prisoner to keep his own house, and so he did: although by flying he might easily have escaped their cruel hands, and many things there were which might have moved him thereunto. He did see the recovery of religion at

that present time seemed to be desperate; he knew he could not want a living in Germany, and he could not forget his wife and ten children, and wished to seek means to succour them. But all these things set apart, after he was called to answer in Christ's cause, he would not depart from the realm, but stoutly stood in defence of the same, and for the trial of that truth was content to hazard his life.

Thus he remained in his own house as prisoner a long time, till at the length, through the uncharitable procurement of Bonner, Bishop of London, who could not abide such honest neighbours to dwell by him, he was removed from his own house to the prison called Newgate, where he was lodged among thieves and murderers for a great space; during which time, what business he had with the adversaries of Christ, all is not known; neither yet is there any certainty of his examinations, further than he himself did leave in writing, which God would not to be lost, but to remain for a perpetual testimony in the cause of God's truth, as here followeth recorded and testified by his own writing.

The Examination and Answer of JOHN ROGERS, made to the Lord Chancellor, and to the rest of the Council, the 22d of January, Anno 1555: penned by himself.

The Lord Chancellor. First, the Lord Chancellor said unto me thus: "Sir, ye have heard of the state of the realm in which it standeth now."

Rogers. No, my Lord, I have been kept in close prison, and except there have been some general things said at the table, when I was at dinner or supper, I have heard nothing; and there have I heard nothing, whereupon any special thing might be grounded.

Lord Chancellor. Then said the Lord Chancellor, "General things, general things," mockingly; ye have heard of my Lord Cardinal's coming, and that the Parliament hath received his blessing, not one resisting unto it, but one man which did speak against it. Such an unity, and such a miracle, hath not been seen. And all they, of which there are eight score in one house, said one that was by (whose name I know not) have with one assent and consent received pardon of their offences, for the schism that we had in England, in refusing the holy father of Rome to be head of the catholic church. How say ye, are ye content to unite, and knit yourself to the faith of the catholic church with us in the state in which it is now in England: will ye do that?

Rogers. The catholic church I never did nor will dissent from.

Lord Chancellor. Stay; but I speak of the state of the catholic church in that wise in which we stand now in England, having received the Pope to be supreme head.

Rogers. I know none other head but Christ of his catholic church, neither will I acknowledge the bishop of Rome to have any more authority than any other bishop hath by the word of God, and by the doctrine of the old and pure catholic church 400 years after Christ.

Lord Chancellor. Why didst thou then acknowledge King Henry the Eighth to be supreme head of the church, if Christ be the only head?

Rogers. I never granted him to have any supremacy in spiritual things, as are the forgiveness of sins, giving of the Holy Ghost, and authority to be a judge above the word of God.

Lord Chancellor. Yea, said he, if thou hadst said so in the days of Tonsal, Bishop of Durham (and

they nodded the head at me with laughter), thou hadst not been alive now.

Rogers. Which thing I denied, and would have told how he was said and meant to be supreme head. But they looked and laughed one upon another, and made such a business, that I was constrained to let it pass. There lieth also no great weight thereupon; for all the world knoweth what the meaning was. The Lord Chancellor also said to the Lord William Haward, that there was no inconvenience therein, to have Christ to be supreme head and the bishop of Rome also: and when I was ready to have answered that there could not be two heads of one church, and have more plainly declared the vanity of that his reason, the Lord Chancellor said, What sayest thou? Make us a direct answer whether thou wilt be one with us of this catholic church, or not, in that state in which we now are.

Rogers. My Lord, without fail I cannot believe, that ye yourselves do think in your hearts that he is supreme head in forgiving of sin, &c. All the bishops of the realm have now twenty years long preached, and some of you also written to the contrary, and the Parliament hath so long ago consented unto it. And there he interrupted me thus.

Lord Chancellor. Tush, that Parliament was with most great cruelty constrained to abolish and put away the primacy from the bishop of Rome.

Rogers. With cruelty? Why then I perceive that you take a wrong way with cruelty to persuade men's consciences. For it should appear by your doings now, that the cruelty then used hath not persuaded your consciences. How would you then have our consciences persuaded with cruelty?

Lord Chancellor. I talk to thee of no cruelty; but that we were so often and so cruelly called upon in that Parliament to let the act go forward; yea, and

even with force driven thereunto; whereas in this Parliament it was so uniformly received, as is aforesaid.

Rogers. Here my Lord Paget told me more plainly, what my Lord Chancellor meant. Unto whom I answered: "My Lord, what will you conclude thereby? that the first Parliament was of less authority, because but few consented unto it: and this last Parliament of greater authority, because more consented unto it? It goeth not, my Lord, by the more or lesser part, but by the wise, truer, and godlier part."—And I would have said more, but the Lord Chancellor interrupted me with his question, willing me once again to answer him. "For," said he, "we have more to speak with than thee, who must come in after thee."—And so indeed there were ten persons more out of Newgate, besides two that were not called. Of which ten, one was a citizen of London, which yielded unto them, and nine were contrary: which all came to prison again, and refused the cardinal's blessing, and the authority of his holy father's church, saving that one of these nine was not asked the question, otherwise than thus, whether he would be an honest man, as his father was before him, and he answered, Yea; so he was discharged by the friendship of my Lord William Haward, as I have understood. He bade me tell him what I would do; whether I would enter into the one church with the whole realm as it is now, or not? "No," said I, "I will first see it proved by the Scriptures. Let me have pen, ink, and books, &c. and I shall take upon me plainly to set out the matter, so that the contrary shall be proved to be true; and let any man that will, confer with me by writing."

Lord Chancellor. Nay, that shall not be permitted thee. Thou shalt never have so much proffered

thee as thou hast now, if thou refuse it, and wilt not now consent and agree to the catholic church. Here are two things, mercy and justice : if thou refuse the Queen's mercy now, then shalt thou have justice ministered unto thee.

Rogers. I never offended, nor was disobedient unto her Grace, and yet I will not refuse her mercy. But if this shall be denied me to confer by writing, and to try out the truth, then it is not well, but too far out of the way. Ye yourselves (all the bishops of the realm) brought me to abjure the pretended primacy of the bishop of Rome, when I was a young man twenty years past : and will ye now without collation have me to say and do the contrary ? I cannot be so persuaded.

Lord Chancellor. If thou wilt not receive the bishop of Rome to be supreme head of the catholic church, then thou shalt never have her mercy, thou mayest be sure. And as touching conferring and trial, I am forbidden by the Scriptures to use any conferring and trial with thee. For St. Paul teacheth me, that I should shun and eschew an heretic after one or two monitions, knowing that such an one is overthrown and is faulty, insomuch as he is condemned by his own judgment.

Rogers. My Lord, I deny that I am an heretic : prove ye that first, and then allege the foresaid text. —But still the Lord Chancellor played on one string, saying,

Lord Chancellor. If thou wilt enter into one church with us, &c. tell us that, or else thou shalt never have so much proffered thee again, as thou hast now.

Rogers. I will find it first in the Scripture, and see it tried thereby, before I receive him to be supreme head.

Worcester. Why, do ye not know what is in your

creed, *Credo ecclesiam sanctam catholicam*, "I believe the holy catholic church?"

Rogers. I find not the bishop of Rome there. For catholic signifieth not the Romish church: it signifieth the consent of all true teaching churches of all times, and of all ages. But how should the bishop of Rome's church be one of them, which teacheth so many doctrines that are plainly and directly against the word of God? Can that bishop be the true head of the catholic church that doth so? That is not possible.

Lord Chancellor. Shew me *one* of them; *one*; let me hear *one*.

Rogers. I remember myself, that among so many I were best to shew one, and said, I will shew you one.

Lord Chancellor. Let me hear that, let me hear that.

Rogers. The bishop of Rome and his church say, read, and sing all that they do in their congregations in Latin, which is directly and plainly against the first to the Corinthians, the 14th chapter.

Lord Chancellor. I deny that, I deny that that is against the word of God. Let me see you prove that; how prove you that?

Rogers. Then I began to say the text from the beginning of the chapter: to speak with tongues, said I, is to speak with a strange tongue, as Latin or Greek, &c. and so to speak is not to speak unto men, but unto God. But ye speak in Latin, which is a strange tongue, wherefore ye speak not unto men, but unto God. This must be granted, that ye speak not unto men, but unto God.

Lord Chancellor. Well, then, is it vain unto men?

Rogers. No, not in vain. "For one man speaketh in one tongue, and another in another tongue, and all well."

Lord Chancellor. Nay, I will prove then, that he speaketh neither unto God nor unto man, but unto the wind.

Rogers. I was willing to have declared how and after what sort these two texts do agree (for they must agree, they be both the sayings of the Holy Ghost, spoken by the Apostle Paul), as, to wit, “to speak not to men, but unto God,” and “to speak unto the wind:” and so I would have gone forward with the proof of my matter begun, but here arose a noise and a confusion. Then said the Lord Chancellor,

Lord Chancellor. To speak unto God, and not unto God, were impossible.

Rogers. I will prove them possible.

Lord Haward. Nay, saith my Lord William Haward to my Lord Chancellor, now will I bear you witness that he is out of the way. For he granteth first, that they which speak in a strange speech speak unto God; and now he saith the contrary, that they speak neither to God nor to man.

Rogers. I have not granted or said (turning me to my Lord Haward) as you report. I have alleged the one text, and now I am come to the other: they must agree, and I can make them to agree. But as for you, you understand not the matter.

Lord Haward. I understand so much, that it is not possible. This is a point of sophistry, quoth Secretary Bourn.

Lord Chancellor. Then the Lord Chancellor began to tell the Lord Haward, that when he was in High Dutchland, they at Hale, which had before prayed and used their service in Dutch, began then to turn part into Latin, and part into Dutch.

Worcester. Yea, and Wittenburg too.

Rogers. Yea (but I could not be heard for their noise), in an university, where men for the most

part understood the Latin : and yet not all in Latin. And I would have told the order, and have gone forward both to have answered my Lord, and to have proved the thing that I had taken in hand : but perceiving their talk and noise to be too noisome, I was fain to think this in my heart, suffering them in the mean while to talk one of them one thing, and another another. Alas ! neither will these men hear me if I speak, neither yet will they suffer me to write. There is no remedy, but let them alone, and commit the matter to God. Yet I began to go forward, and said, that I would make the texts to agree, and to prove my purpose well enough.

Lord Chancellor. No, no, thou canst prove nothing by the Scripture. The Scripture is dead : it must have a lively expositor.

Rogers. No, the Scripture is alive. But let me go forward with my purpose.

Worcester. All heretics have alleged the Scriptures for them, and therefore we must have a lively expositor for them.

Rogers. Yea, all heretics have alleged the Scriptures for them ; but they were confuted by the Scriptures, and by none other expositor.

Worcester. But they would not confess that they were overcome by the Scriptures, I am sure of that.

Rogers. I believe that : and yet were they overcome by them, and in all the councils they were disputed with and overthrown by the Scriptures. And here I would have declared how they ought to proceed in these days, and so have come again to my purpose, but it was impossible : for one asked one thing, another said another, so that I was fain to hold my peace, and let them talk. And even when I would have taken hold of my proof, the Lord Chancellor bade to prison with me again ; and, Away, away, said he, we have more to talk withal : if I

would not be reformed (so he termed it), away, away. Then up I stood, for I had kneeled all the while.

Then Sir Richard Southwell, who stood by in a window, said to me, Thou wilt not burn in this gear when it cometh to the purpose, I know well that.

Rogers. Sir, I cannot tell, but I trust to my Lord God yet—lifting up mine eyes unto heaven.

Bishop of Ely. Then my Lord of Ely told me much of the Queen's Majesty's pleasure and meaning, and set it out with large words, saying, that she took them that would not receive the bishop of Rome's supremacy, to be unworthy to have her mercy, &c.

Rogers. I said I would not refuse her mercy, and yet I never offended her in all my life; and that I besought her Grace and all their Honours to be good to me, reserving my conscience.

Divers spake at once. No? quoth they then (a great sort of them, and specially Secretary Bourn); a married priest, and have not offended the law?

Rogers. I said I had not broken the Queen's law, nor yet any point of the law of the realm therein, for I married where it was lawful.

Divers at once, Where was that? said they; thinking that to be unlawful in all places.

Rogers. In Dutchland. And if ye had not here in England made an open law that priests might have had wives, I would never have come home again; for I brought a wife and eight children with me; which thing ye might be sure that I would not have done, if the laws of the realm had not permitted it before.

Then there was a great noise, some saying, what I should come to soon with such a sort; that I should find a sour coming of it; and some one sort and some another: and one said (I could not well per-

ceive who), that there was never a catholic man or country, that ever granted that a priest might have a wife.

Rogers. I said, the catholic church never denied marriage to priests, nor yet to any other man ; and therewith was I going out of the chamber, the sergeant which brought me thither hanging on me by the arm.

Worcester. Then the Bishop of Worcester turned his face towards me, and said that I wist not where that church was or is.

Rogers. I said, yes, that I could tell where it was—but therewith went the sergeant with me out of the door.

This was the very true effect of all that was spoken unto me, and of that I answered thereunto.

And here would I gladly make a more perfect answer to all the former objections, as also a due proof of that which I had taken in hand : but at this present I was informed that I should to-morrow come to further answer. Wherefore I am compelled to leave out that which I would most gladly have done, desiring here the hearty and unfeigned help of the prayers of Christ's true members, the true sons of the unfeigned catholic church, that the Lord God of all consolation will now be my comfort, aid, strength, buckler, and shield : as also of all my brethren that are in the same case and distress, that I and they all may despise all manner of threats and cruelty, and even the bitter burning fire, and the dreadful dart of death, and stick like true soldiers to our dear and loving Captain Christ, our only Redeemer and Saviour, and also the true head of the church, that doth all in us all, which is the very property of an head (and is a thing that all the bishops of Rome cannot do), and that we do not traitorously run out of his tents, or rather out of the plain field from him,

in the most jeopardy of the battle, but that we may persevere in the fight (if he will not otherwise deliver us), till we be most cruelly slain of his enemies. For this I most heartily and at this present with weeping tears most instantly and earnestly desire and beseech you all to pray : and also, if I die, to be good to my poor and most honest wife, being a poor stranger, and all my little souls, hers and my children : whom with all the whole faithful and true catholic congregation of Christ, the Lord of life and death save, keep, and defend in all the troubles and assaults of this vain world, and bring at the last to everlasting salvation, the true and sure inheritance of all crossed Christians. Amen. Amen.

'The 27th day of January at night.

JOHN ROGERS.

The second Confession of JOHN ROGERS, made, and that should have been made (if I might have been heard), the 28th and 29th Days of January 1555.

First, being asked again by the Lord Chancellor, whether I would come into one church with the bishops and whole realm, as now was concluded by Parliament (in the which all the realm was converted to the catholic church of Rome), and so receive the mercy before proffered me, arising again with the whole realm out of the schism and error in which we had long been, with recantation of my errors : I answered, that before I could not tell what his mercy meant, but now I understand that it was a mercy of the antichristian church of Rome, which I utterly refuse, and that the rising, which he spake of, was a very fall and error and false doctrine. Also that I had and would be able, by God's grace, to prove that all the doctrine which I had ever taught was true and catholic, and that by the Scriptures,

and the authority of the fathers that lived 400 years after Christ's death. He answered, that should not, might not, nor ought not to be granted me : for I was but a private man, and might not be heard against the determination of the whole realm. Should, quoth he, when a Parliament hath concluded a thing, one or any private person have authority to discuss, whether they have done right or wrong ? No, that may not be.

I answered shortly, that all the laws of men might not, neither could rule the word of God, but that they all must be discussed and judged thereby, and obey thereunto : and neither my conscience, nor any Christian man's, could be satisfied with such laws as disagreed from that word : and so was willing to have said much more, but the Lord Chancellor began a long tale to very small purpose, concerning mine answer, to have debased me, that there was nothing in me wherewithal I should be heard, but arrogancy, pride, and vain-glory. I also granted mine ignorance to be greater than I could express, or than he took it : but yet that I feared not, by God's assistance and strength, to be able by writing to perform my word ; neither was I (I thanked God) so utterly ignorant as he would make me, but all was of God, to whom be thanks rendered therefore : proud man was I never, nor yet vain-glorious. All the world knew well, where and on what side pride, arrogancy, and vain-glory was. It was a poor pride that was or is in us, God it knoweth.

Then he said, that I at the first dash condemned the Queen and the whole realm to be of the church of antichrist, and burdened me highly therewithal. I answered, that the Queen's Majesty (God save her Grace) would have done well enough, if it had not been for his counsel. He said, the Queen went be-

fore him, and it was her own motion. I said without fail, I neither could nor would I ever believe it.

Then said Dr. Aldrif, the Bishop of Carlisle, "Yea, quotha, that I believe well;" and with that the people laughed: for that day there were many, but on the morrow they kept the doors shut, and would let none in but the bishops' adherents, and servants in a manner, yea, and the first day the thousandth man came not in. Then Master Comptroller and Secretary Bourne would have stood up also to bear witness and did.

I said it was no great matter: and to say the truth, I thought that they were helpers thereto themselves: but I ceased to say any more therein, knowing that they were too strong and mighty of power, and that they should be believed before me, yea, and before our Saviour Christ, and all his Prophets, and Apostles too, in these days.

Then after many words he asked me what I thought concerning the blessed sacrament, and stood up, and put off his cap, and all his fellow-bishops (of which there were a great sort, new men, of whom I knew few), whether I believed the sacrament to be the very body and blood of our Saviour Christ, that was born of the Virgin Mary, and hanged on the cross, really and substantially.

I answered, I had often told him that it was a matter in which I was no meddler, and therefore suspected of my brethren to be of a contrary opinion. Notwithstanding, even as the most part of your doctrine in other parts is false, and the defence thereof only by force and cruelty: so in this matter I think it to be as false as the rest. For I cannot understand, "really and substantially," to signify otherwise than corporally: but corporally Christ is only in heaven, and so cannot Christ be corporally also in your sacrament. And here I somewhat set

out his charity after this sort. My Lord, quoth I, ye have dealt with me most cruelly ; for ye have put me in prison without law, and kept me there now almost a year and a half : for I was almost half a year in my house, where I was obedient to you, God knoweth, and spake with no man. And now have I been a full year in Newgate at great cost and charges, having a wife and ten children to support, and I had never a penny of my livings ; which was against the law.

He answered, that Dr. Ridley, which had given them me, was an usurper, and therefore I was the unjust possessor of them.

Was the King then an usurper, quoth I, which gave Dr. Ridley the bishopric ?

Yea, quoth he, and began to set out the wrongs that the King had done to the Bishop of London, and to himself also. But yet I do misuse my terms, quoth he, to call the King usurper. But the word was gone out of the abundance of the heart before ; and I think that he was not very sorry for it in heart. I might have said more concerning that matter, but I did not.

I asked him wherefore he put me in prison ? He said, because I preached against the Queen.

I answered, that it was not true : and I would be bound to prove it, and to stand to the trial of the law, that no man should be able to disprove it, and thereupon would set my life. I preached (quoth I) a sermon at the cross, after the Queen came to the crown ; but therein was nothing said against the Queen, I take witness of all the audience, which was not small : I alleged also that he had after examination let me go at liberty after the preaching of that sermon.

Yea, but thou didst read thy lectures after, quoth he, against the commandment of the council.

That did I not, quoth I; let that be proved, and let me die for it. Thus have you now against the law of God and man handled me, and never sent for me, never conferred with me, never spoken of any learning, till now that ye have gotten a whip to whip me with, and a sword to cut off my neck, if I will not condescend to your mind. This charity doth all the world understand.

I might and would have added, if I could have been suffered to speak, that it had been time enough to take away men's livings, and thereto to have imprisoned them, after that they had offended the laws: for they be good citizens that break not laws, and worthy of praise and not of punishment. But their purpose is to keep men in prison, until they may catch them in their laws, and so kill them. I could and would have added the example of Daniel, which by a crafty-devised law was cast into the lions' den.

Item, I might have declared, that I most humbly desired to be set at liberty, sending my wife to him with a supplication, being great with child, and with her eight honest women, or thereabout, to Richmond, at Christmas was a twelvemonth, while I was yet in my house.

Item, I wrote two supplications to him out of Newgate, and sent my wife many times to him. Master Gosnold also, that worthy man, who is now departed in the Lord, laboured for me, and so did divers other worthy men also take pains in the matter. These things declare my Lord Chancellor's antichristian charity, which is, that he hath and doth seek my blood, and the destruction of my poor wife and my ten children.

This is a short sum of the words which were spoken on the 28th day of January at afternoon, after that Master Hooper had been the first, and Master Cardmaker the second in examination before

me. The Lord grant us grace to stand together, fighting lawfully in this cause, till we be smitten down together, if the Lord's will be so to permit it: for there shall none perish without his will. Whereunto the Lord grant us to be obedient unto the end and in the end. Amen. Sweetly and mightily aid us, O merciful Jesus, thou Son of David, and of God. Amen, Amen, let every true Christian say and pray.

Then the clock being as I guessed about four, the Lord Chancellor said that he and the church might use charity with me (what manner of charity it is, all true Christians do well understand, as to wit, the same that the fox does with the chickens, and the wolf with the lambs), and gave me respite till to-morrow, and whether I would return to the catholic church (for so he called his antichristian false church) again, and repent, and they would receive me to mercy.

I said, that I was never out of the true catholic church, nor would be: but into his church would I by God's grace never come.

Well, quoth he, then is our church false and antichristian?

Yea, quoth I.

And what is the doctrine of the sacrament?—False, quoth I—and cast my hands abroad.

Then said one, that I was a player. To whom I answered not; for I passed not upon his mock.

Come again, quoth the Lord Chancellor, to-morrow, between nine and ten.

I am ready to come again, whensoever ye call, quoth I.

And thus was I brought up by the Sheriffs to the Compter in Southwark, Master Hooper going before me, and a great multitude of people being present, so that we had much to do to go in the streets.

Thus much was done the 28th day of January.

The second day, which was the 29th of January, we were sent for in the morning, about nine of the clock, and by the Sheriff's fetched from the Compter in Southwark to the church again, where we were the day before in the afternoon. And when Master Hooper was condemned, as I understood afterward, then sent they for me. Then my Lord Chancellor said unto me :

Rogers, quoth he, here thou wast yesterday, and we gave thee liberty to remember thyself this night, whether thou wouldest come to the holy catholic church again or not. Tell us now, what thou hast determined, whether thou wilt be repentant and sorry, and wilt return again and take mercy.

My Lord, quoth I, I have remembered myself right well, what you yesterday said to me, and desire you to give me leave to declare my mind, what I have to say thereunto ; and that done, I shall answer you to your demanded question.

When I yesterday desired that I might be suffered by the Scriptures and authority of the first, best, and purest church to defend my doctrine by writing (meaning not only of the primacy, but also of all the doctrine that ever I had preached) ye answered me, that it might not, nor ought not to be granted me, for I was a private person ; and that the Parliament was above the authority of all private persons, and therefore the sentence thereof might not be found faulty by me only a private person. And yet, my Lord, quoth I, I am able to shew examples, that one man hath come into a general council, and after the whole had determined and agreed upon an act or article, some one man coming in afterwards, hath by the word of God declared so pithily, that the council had erred in decreeing the said article, that he caused the whole council to be changed, and alter their act or article before deter-

mined. And of these examples, said I, I am able to shew two.

I can also shew the authority of St. Austin ; that when he disputed with an heretic, he would neither himself, nor yet have the heretic to lean unto the determination of the two former councils, of the which the one made for him, and the other for the heretic that disputed against him ; but said that he would have the Scriptures to be their judge, which were common and indifferently for them both, and not proper to either of them.

Item, I could shew, said I, the authority of a learned lawyer, which saith, that unto a simple layman that bringeth the word of God with him there ought more credit to be given, than to a whole council gathered together. By these things will I prove that I ought not to be denied to say my mind, and to be heard against a whole Parliament, bringing the word of God for me and the authority of the old church 400 years after Christ, albeit that every man in the Parliament had willingly and without respect of fear and favour agreed thereunto, which thing I doubt not a little of, specially seeing the like had been permitted in that old church, even in general councils, yea, and that in one of the chiefest councils that ever was, unto which neither any acts of this Parliament, nor yet any of the late general councils of the bishops of Rome, ought to be compared. For, said I, if Henry the Eighth were alive, and should call a Parliament, and begin to determine a thing (and here I would have alleged the example of the act of making the Queen a bastard, and of making himself the superior head ; but I could not, being interrupted by one whom God forgive), then will ye (pointing to my Lord Chancellor), and ye, and ye, and so ye all (pointing to the rest of the Bi-

shops) say, Amen : yea, and it like your Grace, it is meet that it be so enacted.

Here my Lord Chancellor would suffer me to speak no more, but bade me sit down, mockingly saying, that I was sent for to be instructed of them, and I would take upon me to be their instructor.

My Lord, quoth I, I stand and sit not : shall I not be suffered to speak for my life ?

Shall we suffer thee to tell a tale, and to prate ? quoth he.—And with that he stood up, and began to face me, after his own arrogant proud fashion ; for he perceived that I was in a way to have touched them somewhat, which he thought to hinder by dashing me out of my tale, and so he did. For I could never be suffered to come to my tale again, no, not to one word of it ; but he had much like communication with me, as he had the day before, and as his manner is, taunt upon taunt, and check upon check. For in that case, being God's cause, I told him he should not make me afraid to speak.

Lord Chancellor. See, what a spirit this fellow hath, said he, finding fault at mine accustomed earnestness, and hearty manner of speaking.

Rogers. I have a true spirit, quoth I, agreeing and obeying the word of God ; and would further have said, that I was never the worse, but the better, to be earnest and just in a true cause and in my Master Christ's matters ; but I could not be heard.

And at the length he proceeded towards his excommunication and condemnation, after that I had told him that his church of Rome was the church of antichrist, meaning the false doctrine and tyrannical laws, with the maintenance thereof by cruel persecutions used by the bishops of the said church (of which the Bishop of Winchester and the rest of his fellow-bishops that are now in England, are the chief

members): of the laws I mean, quoth I, and not all the men and women which are in the Pope's church.

Likewise, when I was said to have denied their sacrament (whereof he made his wonted reverent mention, more to maintain his kingdom thereby, than for the true reverence of Christ's institution; more for his own and his Popish generation's sake, than for religion or God's sake), I told him after what order I did speak of it (for the manner of his speaking was not agreeing to my words, which are before recited in the communication that we had on the 28th of January), wherewith he was not contented, but he asked the audience whether I had not simply denied the sacrament. They would have said and did what he listed, for the most of them were of his own servants at that day: the 29th of January I mean. At the last I said, I will never deny that I said, that is, that your doctrine of the sacrament is false; but yet I tell you after what order I said it.

To be short, he read my condemnation before me, particularly mentioning therein but two articles; first, that I affirmed the Romish catholic church to be the church of antichrist; and that I denied the reality of their sacraments. He caused me to be degraded and condemned, and put into the hands of the laity, and so he gave me over into the Sheriffs' hands, which were much better than his.

The copy of which his condemnation here I thought good to put down in English, to the intent that the same, being here once expressed, may serve for all other sentences condemnatory through the whole story to be referred unto.

The Sentence condemnatory against Master ROGERS.

In the name of God, Amen. We Stephen, by the permission of God, Bishop of Winchester, lawfully and rightly proceeding, with all godly favour, by authority and virtue of our office, against thee, John Rogers, priest, alias called Mathew, before us personally here present, being accused and detected, and notoriously slandered of heresy, having heard, seen, and understood, and with all diligence deliberated, weighed, discussed, and considered the merits of the cause, all things being observed, which by us in this behalf in order of law ought to be observed, sitting in our judgment-seat, the name of Christ being first called upon, and having God before our eyes: because, by the acts enacted, propounded, and exhibited in this matter, and by thine own confession, judicially made before us, we do find that thou hast taught, holden, and affirmed, and obstinately defended divers errors, heresies, and damnable opinions, contrary to the doctrine and determination of the holy church: as, namely, these, that the catholic church of Rome is the church of antichrist, item, that in the sacrament of the altar there is not substantially nor really the natural body and blood of Christ. The which aforesaid heresies and damnable opinions being contrary to the law of God, and determination of the universal and apostolical church, thou hast arrogantly, stubbornly and wittingly maintained, held, and affirmed, and also defended before us, as well in this judgment, as also otherwise, and with the like obstinacy, stubbornness, malice, and blindness of heart, both wittingly and willingly hast affirmed, that thou wilt believe, maintain and hold, affirm and declare the same. We, therefore, Stephen Winchester, bishop, ordinary, and diocesan aforesaid, by the consent and assent as well of our reverend brethren,

the lords bishops here present and assistant, as also by the counsel and judgment of divers worshipful lawyers and professors of divinity, with whom we have communicated in this behalf, do declare and pronounce thee the said John Rogers, otherwise called Mathew, through thy demerits, transgressions, and obstinacies and wilfulness (which thou manifold ways hast incurred by thy own wicked and stubborn obstinacy), to have been and to be guilty of the detestable, horrible, and wicked offence of heretical pravity and execrable doctrine; and that thou hast before us sundry times spoken, maintained, and wittingly and stubbornly defended the said cursed and execrable doctrine in the said confessions, assertions, and recognitions, here judicially before us oftentimes repeated, and yet dost still maintain, affirm, and believe the same, and that thou hast been and art lawfully and ordinarily convicted in this behalf. We therefore, I say, albeit, following the example of Christ, which would not the death of a sinner, but rather that he should convert and live, we have gone about oftentimes to correct thee, and by all lawful means that we could, and all wholesome admonitions that we did know, to reduce thee again unto the true faith and unity of the universal catholic church, notwithstanding have found thee obstinate and stiff-necked, willingly continuing in thy damnable opinions and heresies, and refusing to return again unto the true faith and unity of the holy mother church, and as the child of wickedness and darkness, hast so hardened thy heart, that thou wilt not understand the voice of thy shepherd, which with a fatherly affection doth seek after thee, nor will be allured with his fatherly and godly admonitions; we, therefore, Stephen, the bishop aforesaid, not willing that thou, which art wicked, shouldst now become more wicked, and infect the Lord's flock.

with thy heresy (which we are greatly afraid of), with sorrow of mind and bitterness of heart do judge thee, and definitively condemn thee, the said John Rogers, otherwise called Mathew, thy demerits and defaults being aggravated through thy damnable obstinacy, as guilty of most detestable heresies, and as an obstinate impenitent sinner, refusing penitently to return to the lap and unity of the holy mother church, and that thou hast been and art by law excommunicate, and do pronounce and declare thee to be an excommunicate person. Also we pronounce and declare thee, being an heretic, to be cast out from the church, and left unto the judgment of the secular power, and now presently do leave thee as an obstinate heretic, and a person wrapped in the sentence of the great curse, to be degraded worthily for thy demerits (requiring them, notwithstanding, in the bowels of our Lord Jesus Christ, that this execution and punishment worthily done upon thee, may so be moderated, that the rigour thereof be not too extreme, nor yet the gentleness too much mitigated, but that it may be to the salvation of thy soul, to the extirpation, terror, and conversion of the heretics, to the unity of the catholic faith), by this our sentence definitive, which we here lay upon and against thee, and do with sorrow of heart promulgate in this form aforesaid.

After this sentence being read, he sent us (Master Hooper, I mean, and me) to the Clink, there to remain till night; and when it was dark, they carried us, Master Hooper going before with the one sheriff, and I coming after with the other, with bills and weapons enow, out of the Clink, and led us through the Bishop's house, and so through St. Mary's churchyard, and so into Southwark, and over the bridge, on procession to Newgate, through the city. But I

must shew you this also, that when he had read the condemnation, he declared that I was in the great curse, and what a vengeable dangerous matter it was to eat and drink with us that were accursed, or to give us any thing: for all that so did, should be partakers of the same great curse.

Well, my Lord, quoth I, here I stand before God and you, and all this honourable audience, and take him to witness, that I never wittingly or willingly taught any false doctrine; and therefore have I a good conscience before God and all good men. I am sure that you and I shall come before a Judge that is righteous, before whom I shall be as good a man as you; and I nothing doubt but that I shall be found there a true member of the catholic church of Christ, and everlastingly saved. And as for your false church, you need not excommunicate me forth of it. I have not been in it these twenty years, the Lord be thanked therefor. But now ye have done what you can, my Lord, I pray you yet grant me one thing.

What is that? quoth he.

That my poor wife, being a stranger, may come and speak with me so long as I live. For she hath ten children that are hers and mine; and somewhat I would counsel her, what were best for her to do.

No, quoth he; she is not thy wife.

Yes, my Lord, quoth I, and hath been these eighteen years.

Should I grant her to be thy wife? quoth he.

Choose you, quoth I, whether you will or not, she shall be so, nevertheless.

She shall not come at thee, quoth he.

Then I have tried out all your charity, said I. You make yourself highly displeased with the matrimony of priests, but you maintain open whoredom, as in Wales, quoth I, where every priest hath his

harlot openly dwelling with him; and even as your holy father suffereth all the priests in Dutchland and in France, to do the like. Thereto he answered not, but looked, as it were, a-squint at it: and thus I departed, and saw him for the last time.

Other good matter there is besides, penned by Master Rogers in the prison, which he would have answered, if he might have been permitted; which matter hereunder followeth, as set down by himself.

“Hitherto, dearly beloved, ye have heard what was said: now hear what I proposed the night before to have said, if I could have been permitted. Two things I purposed to have touched. The one, how it was lawful for a private man to reason and write against a wicked act of parliament, or ungodly council, which the Lord Chancellor the day before denied me. The other was, to prove that prosperity was not always a token of God’s love.

“And this I purpose to speak of, because the Lord Chancellor boasted of himself, that he was delivered forth of prison, as it were by miracle, and preserved of God to restore true religion, and to punish me and such others, whom he termed heretics. Concerning these two points, in this matter I purposed to have proceeded. It is not unknown to you, that King Henry the Eighth, in his time, made his daughter, the Queen that now is, a bastard: he abolished the authority of the bishop of Rome: he pulled down abbeyes: and all this he did by the consent of Parliament.

“King Edward the Sixth, in his time, made lawful the marriage of priests, turned the service into English, abolished the idolatrous mass, with all like superstitious trumpery, set up the holy communion, and all by consent of Parliament.

“The Queen that now is, hath repealed the act that

made her a bastard, hath brought in the bishop of Rome, and set him in his old authority, beginneth to set up abbeyes again, hath made the marriage of priests unlawful, hath turned the English service into Latin again, hath set up the mass, with like baggage, and pulled down the holy communion; and all this is done by consent of Parliament.

“ If the acts of Parliament made in King Henry’s time, and King Edward’s, had their foundation upon God’s word, whereupon all positive law ought to be grounded; then these which are established in the Queen’s time, being clean contrary to the others, as they are not warranted by God’s word, so are they wicked, and therefore to be both spoken and written against of all men, as well of private as of public persons.

“ If your acts, my Lord Chancellor, which you have lately coined (I call them *your*, because ye only bear the swing; devise and decree what ye list, all other men are forced to follow), be good, and according to God’s word, then the former acts were naught, which thing ye seemed to say, in utterly taking them away, and setting up of the contrary. If the former were naught, why then did ye consent unto them, and confirm them to be good by your voluntary and advised writing, as it appeareth, and will do to the world’s end, in your book, where you prove the Queen a bastard, and the bishop of Rome to be an usurper, and to have no authority in the realm of England.

“ Ye must needs confess, that the most part of your acts of Parliament, in these latter days, have been according to the fantasies of a few. King Henry, in his time, established by Parliament, in a manner, what he listed, and many things that might well have been amended.

“ In King Edward’s days, the Dukes of Somerset

and Northumberland bare a great stroke in things, and did not all things sincerely. Even so, since the Queen, that now is, came to the government of the realm, all things are ordered by your device and head, and the whole Parliament-house is led as you list; by reason whereof they are compelled to consent to things both contrary to God's manifest word, and also contrary to their own consciences, so great is your cruelty.

“For to bring your wicked purposes to pass, and to establish your antichristian kingdom (which, I trust, the Lord with the breath of his mouth will speedily blow over), ye have called three parliaments in one year and a half, that, what ye could not compass by subtle persuasion, ye might bring to pass by tyrannical threatening: for if ye had not used cruel force in your doings, ye had never brought to pass such things as this day ye have, to the utter defacing and abolishing of God's true religion, and to the casting away and destruction of your natural country, so much as in you lieth.

“And as it is most true that acts of Parliament have, in these latter days, been ruled by the fantasies of a few, and the whole Parliament-house, contrary to their minds, was compelled to consent to such things as a few have conceived: so it must needs be granted that the Papists at all times were most ready to apply themselves to the present world, and, like men-pleasers, to follow the fantasies of such as were in authority, and turn with the state, whichsoever way it turned. Yea, if the state should change ten times in a year, they would be ever ready at hand to change with it, and to follow the cry, and rather utterly forsake God, and be of no religion, than that they would forego lust and living, for God or religion.

“King Henry, by Parliament, according to God's

word, put down the Pope; the clergy consented, and all men openly, by oath, refused his usurped supremacy, knowing, by God's word, Christ to be head of the church, and every king in his realm to have, under and next unto Christ, the chief sovereignty.

"King Edward, also, by Parliament, according to God's word, set the marriage of priests at liberty, abolished the popish and idolatrous mass, changed the Latin service, and set up the holy communion: the whole clergy consented hereunto; many of them set it forth by their preaching, and all they by practising confirmed the same.

"Notwithstanding, now, when the state is altered, and the laws changed, the papistical clergy, with other like worldlings, as men neither fearing God, neither flying worldly shame, neither yet regarding their consciences, oaths, or honesty, like wavering weather-cocks, turn round about, and putting on harlots' foreheads, sing a new song, and cry with an impudent mouth, "Come again, come again to the catholic church," meaning the antichristian church of Rome, which is the synagogue of Satan, and the very sink of all superstition, heresy, and idolatry.

"Of what force, I pray you, may a man think these Parliaments to be, which scarcely can stand a year in strength? or what credit is to be given to these law-makers, which are not ashamed to establish contrary laws, and to condemn that for evil, which before (the thing itself and the circumstances remaining all one) they affirmed and decreed to be good? Truly ye are so ready, contrary to all right, to change and turn for the pleasure of man, that at length, I fear, God will use you like changlers, and both turn you forth of his kingdom, and out of your own country.

"Ye charge the gospel-preachers with the undoings

of this realm; nay, it is the turning Papists, which have not only set a-sale their country like traitors, but also troubled the simple people, so that they cannot tell what they may believe. For that which they affirm and preach to be new doctrine in King Edward's days, now they cry against it, as it were most abominable heresy. This fault I trust ye shall never find at our hands.

“Therefore, to conclude that which I proposed, forsomuch as the acts of Parliament of these latter times are one contrary to another, and those which ye now have established in your time, are contrary to God's most manifest word, as is the usurped supremacy of the bishop of Rome, the idolatrous mass, the Latin service, the prohibiting of lawful marriage (which St. Paul calleth the doctrine of devils), with many such others: I say, it is not only lawful for any private man, which bringeth God's word for him, and the authority of the primitive church, to speak and write against such unlawful laws, but it is his duty, and he is bound in very conscience to do it. Which thing I have proved by divers examples before, and now will add but one other, which is written in the fifth of Acts, where it appeareth that the high priests, the elders, scribes, and pharisees, decreed in their council, and gave the same commandment to the Apostles, that they should not preach in the name of Christ, as ye have also forbidden us; notwithstanding, when they were charged therewithal, they answered, ‘We ought more to obey God than man;’ even so we may answer you, ‘God is more to be obeyed than man;’ and your wicked laws cannot so tongue-tie us, but ‘we will speak the truth.’

“The Apostles were beaten for their boldness, and they rejoiced that they suffered for Christ's cause. Ye have also provided rods for us, and bloody whips:

yet when ye have done that which God's hand and counsel hath determined that ye shall do, be it life or death, I trust that God will so assist us by his holy spirit and grace, that we shall patiently suffer it, and praise God for it: and whatsoever become of me and others, which now suffer for speaking and professing of the truth, yet be ye sure, that God's word will prevail and have the upper hand, when your bloody laws, and wicked decrees, for want of sure foundation, shall fall in the dust. And that which I have spoken of your acts of Parliament, the same may be said of the general councils of these latter days, which have been within these five hundred years, where the antichrist of Rome, by reason of his usurped authority, ruled the roast, and decreed such things as made for his gain, not regarding God's glory; and therefore are they to be spoken, written, and cried out against of all such as fear God and love his truth.

“And thus much I purposed to have said concerning the first point.

“Now touching the second point: That whereas my Lord Chancellor had, the day before, said his pleasure of them that ruled the realm while he was in prison, and also rejoiced, as though God had made this alteration even for his sake, and his catholic church, as he called it, and to declare, as it were by miracle, that we were before in a schism and heresy, and the realm was now brought unto an unity, and to a truth, and I cannot tell whereto; thereto was I fully purposed to have said, secondly, My Lord, whereas ye yesterday so highly dispraised the government of them that ruled in innocent King Edward's days, it may please your Lordship to understand, that we poor preachers, whom ye so evil allow, did most boldly and plainly rebuke their evil governance in many things, specially their covetousness,

and neglect, and small regard to live after the Gospel, as also their neglect to occasion others to live thereafter, with more things than I can now rehearse. This can all London testify with us.

“I would also have told him what I myself, for my part, did once at Paul’s Cross, concerning the misuse of abbeyes, and other church goods; and I am assured right well, that never a Papist of them all did ever so much therein as I did, I thank the Lord therefor: I was also, as it is well known, fain to answer therefor before all the council; and many of my brethren did the like, so that we, for the not rebuking of their faults, shall not answer before God, nor be blameworthy before men. Therefore, let the gentlemen and courtiers themselves, and all the citizens of London, testify what we did.

“But, my Lord, you could not abide them, for that which they did unto you, and for that they were of a contrary religion unto you. Wherefore, in that you seem so infest against them, it is neither any just or public cause, but it is your own private hate, that maketh you to report so evil of their governance. And ye may now say what ye list of them, when they be partly dead and gone, and partly by you put out of office.

“But what shall be said of you, when your fall shall follow, ye then shall hear. And I must say my conscience to you; I fear me, ye have, and will, with your governance, bring England out of God’s blessing into a warm sun. I pray God you do not.

“I am an Englishman born, and, God knoweth, do naturally wish well to my country. And, my Lord, I have often proved that the things which I have much feared aforehand should come to pass, have indeed followed. I pray God I may fail of my guessing in this behalf; but truly that will not be

with expelling the true word of God out of the realm, and with the shedding of innocent oblood.

“ And as touching your rejoicing, as though God had set you aloft to punish us by miracle (for so you report and brag openly of yourself) and to minister justice, if we will not receive your holy father’s mercies, and thereby declare your church to be true, and ours false—to that I answer thus: God’s works be wonderful, and are not to be comprehended and perceived by man’s wisdom, nor by the wit of the most wise and prudent. Yea, they are soonest deceived, and do most easily judge amiss of God’s wonderful works, that are most worldly wise. God hath made all the wisdom of this world foolishness (1 Cor. i. 2.)

Dedit dilectam animam suam in manus inimicorum ejus. Jer. xii. That is,

He hath put his beloved and dear heart into the hands of the enemies thereof.

“ This thing doth God, which thing all wise men account to be the most foolish and unwise part that can be. Will the wise of the world, trow ye, put their most dear friends and tenderly beloved children into their enemies’ hands, to kill, slay, burn, &c.? That is unto them a madness above all madness. And yet doth God use this order; and this is a high and singular wisdom in his sight, which the world taketh to be most extreme madness.

“ Can the world shew a cause why he suffered the great multitude of innocent children to be murdered of Herod of Ascalon, or why he put that most holy man John the Baptist into the hands of Herod his son to be beheaded, and that in prison in secret without open judgment most tyrannously? Why he suffered his beloved Apostle James to be beheaded

of another Herod? Acts, xii. Why he suffered his beloved seed of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, to be four hundred years in thralldom and bondage, and under Pharaoh? And all the stock of Judah and Benjamin, his beloved children and church, to come under the power, sword, and tyranny of Nebuchadnezzar? No, verily; but his true catholic church knoweth divers causes thereof, which are now too long to rehearse, and which I would right gladly shew, if I had time.

“But this I am sure of, that it was not because that the foresaid godly men were in heresies, and subject to false gods’ services and idolatry, and that their adversaries were men of God, and beloved of God. The contrary was true: John Baptist was beloved of God, and Herod hated, and so forth of the rest: and John Baptist, the innocent children, James, the children of Israel in Egypt and in Babylon, were the catholic members and people of God: and their adversaries, into whose hands they were put and delivered, and that of God, by his good will and pleasure, were idolaters, and the people of the devil: but they would be called the chief members of God, and rejoiced that they had the true God, and that it was now declared by miracle, that the Israelites had but a false god, and a false religion, seeing they were delivered into the Babylonians’ hands. And all the others (the Herods and Pharaoh I mean) plainly determined, that if the men, which they killed and handled evil, had been God’s people, God would never have suffered them to have come into their hands, but rather have done the contrary, and have let John Baptist kill Herod, and the Israelites Pharaoh and Nebuchadnezzar. Even the like is now to be seen in us, and in our most cruel adversaries.

“They are not therefore the catholic church, because our merciful God hath at this present given

our lives into their hands : neither are we therefore heretics, because we suffer punishment at their hands, as the Lord Chancellor by his rejoicing seemeth to gather ; the contrary is hereby to be gathered, that we may be the members of the true catholic church, because we suffer for the same doctrine which John Baptist, James, the Israelites, yea, Christ himself, and the Apostles did teach : of which none taught any thing of our adversaries' doctrine, namely, that the rotten antichristian head of Rome should be the head of Christ's church : but have manifestly taught the contrary, specially Paul, in the second to the Thessalonians, in the second chapter, John in the Revelations, Daniel xi. which thing, if I might have life and books, I would (so by God's grace) set forth, that all the world should see it : and that our adversaries, with their antichristian head, are the members of the devil's church, as they undoubtedly are.

“ And in like case as the above-mentioned holy men, though they in their days were counted to be heretics, seditious, and disturbers of the whole world (for unto John Baptist it was said, John, i. ‘ Wherefore baptizest thou, if thou be not Elias, ‘ nor that Prophet,’ &c. As who should say, Thou hast no such authority to begin a new ceremony in the church. For we be in ordinary possession of the church, and of us thou hast received no such power : we abide by our circumcision) : and the like could I declare of James, and of all the Apostles and Prophets, and of our Saviour Christ himself, that were all condemned as heretics and blasphemers of God, and disturbers of the whole world. Paul and Silas, Acts the sixteenth, heard like words of the Philippians ; These men trouble our city, seeing they are Jews, and preach institutions which are not lawful for us to receive, seeing we be Romans. And in the seventeenth, in Athens, the wise men of this world,

and such as give their endeavour to wisdom, said of St. Paul, What will this prater (as my Lord Chancellor said to me, Shall we suffer this fellow to prate? when I would fain have said that thing, that I have here written), trifler, news carrier or bringer, that telleth whatsoever men will have him for gain and advantage, that will for a piece of bread say what ye will have him, &c.? And another said in the same place, He seemeth to be a preacher of new doctrines, &c. And Acts, xxi. the Jews said by Paul, laying hands on him, Help, O ye Israelites, say they; this is the man that teacheth all men every where against the people (meaning the Jews), and the law of this place (meaning Jerusálem); and yet was never a word of this true. And Acts, xxii. the same Jews said of Paul, Out of the earth with that man, or away with him. For it is not lawful for him to live, or he is not worthy to live.

“And how many more of these examples are there to be found in the Bible? Although I say, these men were in their days taken for heretics of them that were in authority, and of the great multitude of the world, yet it is now well known, yea, and very shortly after their deaths this was known, yea, and even in their lives also unto the true catholic church, that they were not only the chief and special members of the true catholic church, but also the founders and builders thereof (notwithstanding the sinister judgment that the wise and mighty men, and the great multitude of the world had of them), and in their consciences they were always assuredly certified of the same. Even the same shall the world find true in us, shortly after our deaths, as also there be at this hour (the Lord be thanked therefor) not a few that already know it, as we ourselves also are by God's grace assuredly certified in our consciences, that we are no heretics, but members of the true

catholic church; and that our adversaries, the bishops and Popish clergy, which will have that title, are the members of Satan's church, and their antichristian head of Rome with them.

"But here will they cry out, Lo! these men will be still like John Baptist, the Apostles, and the Prophets, &c.

"I answer, we make not ourselves like unto them, in the singular virtues and gifts of God given unto them, as of doing miracles, and of many other things. The similitude and likeness of them and us consisteth not in all things, but only in this, that is, that we be like them in doctrine, and in the suffering of persecution and infamy for the same.

"We have preached their very doctrine, and none other thing: that we are able sufficiently to declare by their writings, and by writing for my part, I have proffered to prove the same, as it is now often said. And for this cause we suffer the like reproach, shame, and rebuke of the world, and the like persecution, losing of our lives and goods, forsaking (as our Master Christ commandeth) father, mother, sister, brethren, wives, children, and all that there is, being assured of a joyful resurrection, and to be crowned in glory with them, according to the infallible promises made unto us in Christ our only and sufficient Mediator, Reconciler, Priest, and Sacrifice, which hath pleased the Father, and quieted and pacified his wrath against our sins, and made us without spot or wrinkle in his sight by imputation; although we, of and in ourselves, are bespotted and beblotted with many filthy sins, which if the great mercy granted in Christ did not put away, by not imputing them unto us of his measureless unspeakable mercy and love to save us, they would have brought us to everlasting damnation, and death perpetual.

“ Herein, and in no other, do we affirm ourselves to be like unto our head Christ and all his apostles, prophets, martyrs, and saints. And herein ought all Christian men to be like them ; and herein ought all true Christian men and women like them every one, according to the measure of the faith that God hath dealt unto them, and to the diversity of the gifts of the Spirit given unto them. But let us now consider, that if it be God’s good will and pleasure to give his own beloved heart, that is, his beloved church, and the members thereof, into the hands of their enemies, to chasten, try, and prove them, and to bring them to the true unfeigned acknowledging of their own natural stubbornness, disobedience towards God and his commandments, as touching the love of God and of their brethren or neighbours, and their natural inclination, readiness, and desire to love creatures, to seek their own lusts, pleasures, and things forbidden of God, to obtain a true and earnest repentance and sorrowfulness therefor, and to make them sigh and cry for the forgiveness of the same, and for the aid of the Spirit, daily to mortify and kill the said evil desires and lusts, yea, and often falling unto gross outward sins, as did David, Peter, Magdalen, and others, to rise again also thereout with a mighty crying for mercy, with many other causes : let us also consider what he hereafter doth with the said enemies, into whose hands he hath given his tenderly beloved darlings to be chastened and tried.

“ Forsooth, whereas he but chasteneth his darlings, and crosseth them for a small while, according to his good pleasure, as all fathers do with their children (Hebrews, xii. Proverbs, iii.), he utterly destroyeth, yea, and everlastingly damnneth the unrepentant enemies. Let Herod tell me what he won by killing James, and persecuting Peter, and Christ’s tender

darlings, and beloved spouse and wife, his church. Verily, God thought him not worthy to have death ministered unto him by men or angels, or any worthy creatures; but those small, and yet most vile vermin, lice and worms, must consume and kill his beastly, vile, and tyrannous body.

“Pharaoh and Nebuchadnezzar, for all their pride and most mighty power, must at the length let God’s darlings go freely away out of their land, yea, out of their bands and tyranny. For when it could not be obtained at their hands, that God’s congregation might have true mercy ministered unto them, but the counterfeit mercy of these our days, that is to say, extreme cruelty, and even the very and most horrible and cruel death, God arose and awoke out of his sleep, and destroyed those enemies of his flock with a mighty hand and stretched-out arm.

“Pharaoh did with most great and intolerable labours and burdens oppress and bring under the poor Israelites, and yet did the courtiers undoubtedly noise abroad, that the king was merciful unto them, to suffer them to live in the land, and to set them awork, that they might get them their livings. If he should thrust them out of his land, whither should they go, like a sort of vagabonds and runagates? This title and name of mercy would that tyrant have, and so did his flattering false courtiers spread his vain praise abroad.

“Have not we the like examples now-a-days? O that I had now time to write certain things pertaining to our Winchester’s mercy! How merciful he hath been to me and to my good brethren, I will not speak of; neither yet the Duke of Suffolk’s most innocent daughter, and to her as innocent husband. For although their fathers were faulty, yet had their youth and lack of experience deserved a pardon by all true merciful men’s judgments. O that I had

time to paint out this matter aright! but there be many alive that can do it much better when I am dead. Pharaoh had his plagues, and his most flourishing land was by counterfeit mercy, which was indeed right cruelty and abominable tyranny, utterly destroyed. And think ye that bloody butcherly bishop of Winchester and his most bloody brethren shall escape? Or that England shall for their offences, and specially for the maintenance of their idolatry, and wilful following of them, not abide a great brunt? Yes, undoubtedly.

“If God look not mercifully upon England, the seeds of utter destruction are sown in it already by these hypocritical tyrants and antichristian prelates, Popish Papists, and double traitors to their natural country. And yet they speak of mercy, of blessing, of the catholic church, of unity, of power, and strengthening of the realm. This double dissimulation will shew itself one day when the plague cometh, which will undoubtedly light upon those crown-shorn captains, and that shortly, whatsoever the godly and the poor realm suffer in the mean while by God's good sufferance and will.

“Spite of Nebuchadnezzar's beard and maugre his heart, the captive, thrall, and miserable Jews must come home again, and have their city and temple builded up again by Zerubbabel, Ezra, and Nehemiah, &c. And the whole kingdom of Babylon must go to ruins, and be taken of strangers, the Persians and the Medes. So shall the dispersed and English flock of Christ be brought again into their former state, or to a better, I trust in the Lord God, than it was in innocent King Edward's days, and our bloody Babylonish bishops and the whole crown-shorn company brought to utter shame, rebuke, ruin, decay, and destruction. For God cannot, and undoubtedly will not suffer for ever their abominable,

lying, false doctrine, their hypocrisy, blood-thirst, whoredom, idleness, their pestilent life, pampered in all kinds of pleasure, their Thrasonical boasting pride, their malicious, envious, and poisoned stomachs, which they bear towards his poor and miserable Christians.

“Peter truly warneth, that if judgment beginneth at the house of God, what shall be the end of them that believe not the Gospel? If the righteous shall scarce be saved, where shall the ungodly and sinful appear? Some shall have their punishment here in this world and in the world to come; and they that do escape in this world shall not escape everlasting damnation. This shall be your sauce, O ye wicked Papists, make ye merry here as long as ye may.”

After that John Rogers, as ye have heard, had been long and straightly imprisoned, lodged in Newgate amongst thieves, often examined, and very uncharitably treated, and at length unjustly and most cruelly by wicked Winchester condemned: the fourth of February, in the year of our Lord 1555, being Monday in the morning, he was warned suddenly, by the keeper's wife of Newgate, to prepare himself to the fire; who then being sound asleep, scarce with much joggling could be awaked. At length being raised and waked, and bid to make haste, then said he, “If it be so, I need not to tie my points:” and so was had down, first to Bonner to be degraded. That done, he craved of Bonner but one petition. And Bonner asking what that should be: “Nothing (said he) but that he might speak a few words with his wife before his burning.” But that could not be obtained of him. Then said he, “You declare your charity what it is:” and so he was brought into Smithfield by Master Chester and Master Woodroof, then Sheriffs of London, there to be burnt; where he shewed most constant patience, not using

many words, for he could not be permitted, but only exhorted the people constantly to remain in that faith and true doctrine, which he before had taught, and they had learned, and for the confirmation whereof he was not only content patiently to suffer and bear all such bitterness and cruelty as had been shewed him, but also most gladly to resign up his life, and to give his flesh to the consuming fire, for the testimony of the same.

Briefly, and in few words to comprehend the whole order of his life, doings, and martyrdom: first, this godly Master Rogers was committed to prison, as is above said, and there continued a year and a half. In prison he was merry, and earnest in all he went about. He wrote much; his examinations he penned with his own hand, which else had never come to light. Wherein is to be noted by the way a memorable working of God's providence. Ye heard a little above how Master Rogers craved of Bonner, going to his burning, that he might speak a few words before with his wife, which could not be granted. What these words were, which he had to say to his wife, it is for no man certainly to define.

Likely it may be supposed that his purpose was, amongst other things, to signify unto her of the book written of his examinations and answers, which he had privily hid in a secret corner of the prison where he lay. But where man's power lacketh, see how God's providence worketh. For notwithstanding that during the time of his imprisonment, strait search there was to take away his letters and writings, yet after his death his wife, and one of her sons called Daniel, coming into the place where he lay, to seek for his books and writings, and now ready to go away, it chanced her son afore-named, casting his eye aside, to spy a black thing (for it had a black cover, belike because it should not be known), lying

in a blind corner under a pair of stairs : who, willing his mother to see what it was, found it to be the book written with his own hand, containing these his examinations and answers, with other matters above specified. In the latter end whereof, this also was contained, which, because it concerneth a propheticall forewarning of things pertaining to the church, I thought to place the same his words, as they be there written, which are these :

“ If God look not mercifully upon England, the seeds of utter destruction are sown in it already by these hypocritical tyrants and antichristian prelates, Popish Papists, and double traitors to their natural country. And yet they speak of mercy, of blessing, of the catholic church, of unity, of power, and strengthening of the realm. This double dissimulation will shew itself one day when the plague cometh, which undoubtedly will light upon these crown-shorn captains, and that shortly, whatsoever the godly and the poor realm suffer in the mean while by God’s sufferance and will.

“ Spite of Nebuchadnezzar’s beard, and maugre his heart, the captive, thrall, and miserable Jews must come home again, and have their city and temple builded up again by Zerubbabel, Ezra, and Nehemiah, &c. and the whole kingdom of Babylon must go to ruin, and be taken of strangers, the Persians and Medes. So shall the dispersed English flock of Christ be brought again into their former estate, or to a better, I trust in the Lord God, than it was in innocent King Edward’s days ; and our bloody Babylonical bishops, and the whole crown-shorn company, brought to utter shame, rebuke, ruin, decay, and destruction. For God cannot, and undoubtedly will not suffer for ever their abominable, lying, false doctrine, their hypocrisy, blood-thirst, whoredom, idleness, their pestilent life pampered in all kind of

pleasure, their Thrasonical boasting pride, their malicious, envious, and poisoned stomachs, which they bear towards his poor and miserable Christians. Peter truly warneth, that if judgment beginneth in the house of God, what shall be the end of them that believe not the Gospel? If the righteous scarce be saved, where shall the ungodly and sinful appear? Some shall have their punishment here in this world and in the world to come; and they that do escape in this world, shall not escape everlasting damnation. This shall be your sauce. O ye wicked Papists, make ye merry as long as ye may."

Furthermore, amongst other words and sayings, which may seem prophetically to be spoken of him, this also may be added, and is notoriously to be marked, that he spake, being in prison, to the printer of the present book, who then also was laid up for like cause of religion: "Thou," said he, "shalt live to see the alteration of this religion, and the Gospel to be freely preached again: and therefore have me commended to my brethren, as well in exile as others, and bid them to be circumspect in displacing the Papists, and putting good ministers into churches, or else their end will be worse than ours." And for lack of good ministers to furnish churches, his device was (Master Hooper also agreeing to the same), that for every ten churches some one good and learned superintendant should be appointed, which should have under him faithful readers, such as might well be got, so that Popish priests should be clean put out, and the bishop once a year to oversee the profiting of the parishes; and if the minister did not his duty, as well in profiting himself in his book, and his parishioners in good instructions, so that they may be trained by little and little to give a reckoning how they do profit, then he to be expelled, and another to be put in his place: and the bishop to do

the like with the superintendant. This was his counsel and request ; shewing moreover, and protesting in his commendations to his brethren by the printer aforesaid, that if they would not so do, their end, he said, would be worse than theirs.

Over and besides divers other things touching Master Rogers, this is not to be forgotten, how in the days of King Edward the Sixth there was a controversy among the bishops and clergy, about wearing of priests' caps, and other attire belonging to that order. Master Rogers being one of that number which never went otherwise than in a round cap, during all the time of King Edward, affirming that he would not agree to that decreement of uniformity, but upon this condition, that if they would needs have such an uniformity of wearing the cap, tippet, &c. then it should also be decreed withal, that the Papists, for a difference between them and others, should be constrained to wear upon their sleeves a chalice with a host upon it. Whereunto if they would consent, he would agree to the other, otherwise he would not, he said, consent to the setting forth of the same, nor ever wear the cap, as indeed he never did.

To proceed now further in describing the doings of this man, during the time while he remained prisoner in Newgate, he was to the prisoners beneficial and liberal, for whom he had thus devised, that he with his fellows should have but one meal a day, they paying notwithstanding for the charges of the whole ; the other meal should be given to them that lacked on the other side of the prison. But Alexander their keeper, a strait man, and a right Alexander, a coppersmith indeed, of whose doings more shall be said, God willing, hereafter, would in no case suffer that. The Sunday before he suffered, he drunk to Master Hooper, being then underneath

him, and bade him commend him unto him, and tell him, there was never little fellow better would stick to a man, than he would stick to him, presupposing they should be burnt together, although it happened otherwise; for Master Rogers was burnt alone. And thus much briefly concerning the life and such acts of Master Rogers, as I thought worthy noting.

Now when the time came, that he being delivered to the Sheriffs should be brought out of Newgate to Smithfield, the place of his execution, first came to him Master Woodroof, one of the foresaid Sheriffs, and calling Master Rogers unto him, asked him if he would revoke his abominable doctrine and his evil opinions of the sacrament of the altar. Master Rogers answered and said, "That which I have preached I will seal with my blood."—"Then," quoth Master Woodroof, "thou art an heretic."—"That shall be known," quoth Rogers, "at the day of judgment."—"Well," quoth Master Woodroof, "I will never pray for thee."—"But I will pray for you," quoth Master Rogers, and so was brought the same day, which was Monday the fourth of February, by the Sheriffs towards Smithfield, saying the Psalm *Miserere* by the way, all the people wonderfully rejoicing at his constancy, with great praises and thanks to God for the same: and there in the presence of Master Rochester, Comptroller of the Queen's household, Sir Richard Southwell, both the Sheriffs, and a wonderful number of people, he was burnt into ashes, washing his hands in the flame as he was in burning.

A little before his burning at the stake, his pardon was brought if he would have recanted: but he utterly refused it. He was the first martyr of all the blessed company that suffered in Queen Mary's time; he gave the first adventure upon the fire.

His wife and children, being eleven in number, ten able to walk, and one sucking on her breast, met him by the way as he went towards Smithfield : this sorrowful sight of his own flesh and blood, dear as they were to him, could yet nothing move him, but that he constantly and cheerfully took his death with wonderful patience, in the defence and support of Christ's Gospel.

THE OLD LEARNING

AND

THE NEW

COMPARED TOGETHER;

WHEREBY IT MAY EASILY BE KNOWN WHICH OF THEM IS
BETTER, AND MORE AGREEING WITH THE EVER-
LASTING WORD OF GOD.

BY

WILLIAM TURNER, M. D.

DEAN OF WELLS.

1548.

TO THE READER.

Some there be that do defy
All that is new, and ever do cry,
“ The old is better, away with the new,
Because it is false, and the old is true ;”
Let them this book read and behold,
For it preferreth the learning most old.

(From an original Copy printed by Robert Stoughton.)

The Rev. William Turner was born at Morpeth, in Northumberland, and educated at Cambridge, under the tuition of Bishop Latimer. He attained to great proficiency in philosophy, medicine, and theology. He was the author of many books in different branches of knowledge. He was imprisoned during the reign of Henry VIII. on account of his adhering to the principles of Luther. He however escaped into Italy. In the reign of Edward VI. he returned, and was made successively a Prebendary in the cathedral church of York, Canon of Windsor, and Dean of Wells.

During the reign of Queen Mary, he was amongst the exiles on the continent; but was, on the accession of Elizabeth, restored to his dignities.—(See Bishop Tanner, Bibliotheca Brit. Hib.)

THE PREFACE,

UNTO THE CHRISTIAN READER.

THE Jews, which were blinded by the old leaven of the scribes and pharisees, said, "What new learning is this?" Even as the unlearned people of this realm, blinded of long time by the false doctrine and ordinances of the Bishop of Rome, do call the Gospel of Christ (long buried and holden down by man's doctrine, when it now beginneth to be preached again) new learning and strange doctrine, and that because they have not been acquainted with it, but only have been brought up in the learning of the pharisees of our time. Was Christ's learning new learning, I pray now, because the Jews had never heard it before preached of the pharisees? If it were no new learning, but many hundred years before preached and taught by the prophets, then is not the Gospel which we preach now, new learning, because you have not heard it before, any more than the sun is a new sun to a man which hath been in a house twenty years, and never saw the sun in his life, before at the last he seeth it, and calleth it a new light.

How was it possible to see the Gospel, or to know it in all your lifetime, seeing that no man might read the Gospel himself without great jeopardy; and they that should have read and preached it, neither could preach it, neither would read it in a tongue that ye could understand? Whereby ye are come now to this ignorance, that ye judge the long hidden truth of Christ's Gospel to be a new learning, as the heathen men of Athens called Paul's doctrine a new learning, because they had never heard it before. The same thing that Christ and Paul suffered

in their days do now the preachers of the true word of God suffer. For, as the Jews and the heathen men, when they could not otherwise bring Christ's learning and Paul's into despising and contempt, they accused it of *newness*, and said it was a new doctrine; so, now-a-days, the pharisees and their followers, when they cannot accuse the doctrine of the Gospel of falseness, they lay *newness* unto it. And as the old pharisaical Jews, and proud heathen wise men of the world, when they had no reason nor scripture to defend their opinions, which they held against Christ and Paul, they leaned only unto antiquity and old time, and with that weapon (though they had it not in deed) did ever fight against Christ and the Apostles; so the pharisees and scholars of this time, not being able to improve the word of God, call it new learning; and as their masters, for lack of scripture, they for succour, for the maintenance of their doctrine, fly to the antiquity of the old doctors, allowing all things that they see therein, dispraising whatsoever they cannot find in them. As if Christ's doctrine were not to be received but as the doctors have received it, and so much of Christ's learning shall be put out of use as the doctors will not allow.

It is now-a-days asked, whether laymen may receive, as well as priests, both the parts of the supper of the Lord? They answer, that Christ doth allow both the parts; but forasmuch as the old doctors think it meet that the laymen should have but one part alone, the priests two parts, they cannot get the sacrament of Christ's holy blood. And so with many other matters, whereof I shall make mention hereafter. Is not this a pretty play, that the antiquity of doctors should weigh down the truth of God's word, and change the ordinance of Christ. Is not this to

prefer antiquity before the verity, and to set man above God? and to reckon the younger the older, and to reckon the creature above the Creator?

I desire all you, that are wilfully minded to be blind, to read this book with an indifferent eye, and, when ye have read it, then judge, whether our learning or their learning, which boast themselves so much of old antiquity, is the older, and more agreeing with God's holy word. The everlasting God, which is without beginning and ending, grant us all to know his holy word, and, after we have known it, godly to live after it. Amen.

OF THE SACRAMENTS.

The new Learning.

It is enough and sufficient to receive the sacraments effectually and with fruit, to have no stop or let of deadly sin. And there is not required in a man a good motion within him, which receiveth them, whereby of a concurrence or worthiness he may deserve grace: for the sacraments bring grace with them of the work that is wrought by them, or by the work itself, that is to say, because the work is shewed and ministered as a sign or a sacrament. This saith the master of sentences in the fourth book, in the first distinction.

Among the doctors of the same opinion are, Triggerus, Eckius, Faber, Pighius, and Billichius, with the whole rabble of Duns's disciples, and all sworn Papists. These men have written but of late, and the eldest of them wrote not above five hundred years ago.

The old Learning.

The Gospel witnesseth, that we be saved, not by an holy sign, but through faith. (Gen. xv.) "Abraham gave credence, and believed God, and that was

reckoned to him for righteousness." (Rom. iv. and x.) "If a man believe from the heart, he shall be made righteous." He saith not, that with the body an holy sign is taken unto righteousness. Also (Habakkuk, ii. and Rom. i.), "The just shall live by his faith." He saith not, he shall live by the sacrament. It followeth, therefore, after the old learning, that faith is necessary to be had in him that receiveth the sacrament with fruit.

The authors of this learning, that are the youngest, wrote fifteen hundred years ago: then judge, I pray thee, good reader, whether our learning, which was taught only by the Prophets and Apostles so many years ago, ought rather to be called *old learning*, or theirs, whose writers wrote not above five hundred years past. The authors of our learning, and settlers forth of the same, were Moses, Elias, Jeremiah, Daniel, David, Solomon, Peter, Paul, John, Luke, Mark, and Matthew; and the chief author of our learning was God himself. The authors of the Papists' learning are the Popes, Gregory, Boniface, Duns, Dorbell, Thomas de Aquino, with such others of the same sort. Now judge, which side hath better authors, the Papists, or we.

OF PENANCE.

The new Learning.

A man's will only naturally (doing that which lieth in him) may dispose itself to the receiving of grace, by an act conformable unto right reason, the which is morally good. Also a man's will in putting away a stop or let, that is, the purpose of deadly sin, of a good motion drawn out of free-will, may deserve the first grace of a congruence. (In the second book of the master of sentences, the 25th distinction.)

What meaneth this learning else, but that (as Pelagius saith) the beginning of our justification cometh of ourselves, and the end, or making perfect, cometh of God? Then might a man, by his own strength, begin penance, which they call contrition, as though the beginning of it were in us. This learning maketh hypocrites, and maintaineth the pride of the old man.

The old Learning.

In the tenth chapter of Zachariah it is written, “I will convert them, because I will have mercy upon them.” (Lam. v.) “Convert us, Lord, to thee, and we shall be converted.” (John, xv.) “Without me ye can do nothing.” (Philip. ii.) “God worketh the will.” (2 Cor. iii.) “Every good thought is of God.” (Rom. xiii.) “If it be of works, then it is not of grace.” (2 Timothy, iii.) “If God at any time will give them repentance,” &c. Therefore, after the *old learning*, repentance is the gift of God; the which grace, that justifieth, worketh, and not the power which draweth out free-will. Before the time that a man have grace, neither his thought nor his will is good; neither hath he any good work, but all is sin: for as the tree is, such is the fruit. The person is a sinner, and also flesh; then what other thing can it savour, will, or work, but fleshly things? This doctrine maketh man lowly, and beateth down the pride and arrogancy of the old Adam.

OF CONFESSION.

The new Learning.

Whosoever cometh to the years of discretion, at least once in the year he is bound to confess all his sins, both open and secret, with all their circum-

stances, to his curate, or else he is not a Christian man. And the bishop hath authority to reserve and keep only to himself the forgiveness of certain sins by the reason of their great enormity, the which a simple priest cannot absolve, but in the point of death. So do the new fellows say. As in the canon law, *cap. Omnis utriusque sexus, &c.* and the master of sentences about the 17th distinction.

The old Learning.

In the 31st Psalm, "I have said, I will confess against me mine unrighteousness to the Lord, and thou hast forgiven me the ungodliness of my sin." Behold, the Prophet doth confess himself unto the Lord, and he getteth forgiveness of all his sins. (Luke, xviii.) The publican saith, "Be merciful to me a sinner:" and he goeth home justified unto his house. Where is here any rehearsing of circumstances, and of hidden sins in the priest's ear? (Luke, vii.) The sinful woman speaketh nothing, but weepeth and falleth lowly down at the feet of Jesus, and she had by and by forgiveness of her sins, and he said unto her, "Depart in peace." (Matth. iii.) Jerusalem and all Judea, and all the country near the flood of Jordan, goeth forth to John, and they confess their sins, namely, in a general confession; for they granted themselves to be sinners, inasmuch as they asked baptism, a sign of repentance; yet for all that ye hear no rehearsal of sins.

We read in the Acts, that the same thing was done at Ephesus at the preaching of the Apostle: yet for all that we see in no place these words, "a peculiar or proper priest,"—"all hidden sins,"—"all circumstances," and such others.

In the first of John, the first chapter, we have a confession which is of God's law, by the which we confess our faults lowly to God, the knower of man's

heart: "He is faithful and righteous to forgive us" them, for he giveth grace to lowly persons, and resisteth proud men (1 Pet. v.). Where true penance is, truly there is also confession, as the true fruit of penance. We do not utterly forsake auricular or ear confession, but the additions of man's traditions are parted and sundered from wholesome doctrine, as chaff is from the corn. It is a wholesome doctrine and according to God's law to require the law at the mouth of a priest, and to learn of the bishop the way of the Lord (Mala. ii. Hag. ii. 1 Tim. iii. Tit. i.). Therefore I would not that the order of the church should be broken, which is (1 Cor. xii.) where the Apostle, after that he had made mention of the mystical body, sheweth that Christ set in the church or congregation, first, apostles, then prophets or preachers, thirdly, teachers.

Why should teachers be in the church, namely, for this intent, that they, having the fashion and the form of wholesome words, should teach the church those things which be necessary for men's salvation, and resist with the sword of the Spirit the enemies of the faith, and all ungodliness? And that they might preach the word both openly and privily; that they be fervent in season and out of season; that they rebuke, reprove, and exhort with all gentleness and learning (2 Tim. iv.). Let them know the face and countenance of their flock; and, to be short, let them be full of those virtues, the which God requireth (Ezek. xxxiv.) of the watchmen or overseers of the house of Israel.

If we perceive not and be ignorant in any thing that pertaineth unto a Christian man's living, and is not plainly taught in the open sermon, we must go to the curate, to hear of his mouth the judgments and testimonies of the Lord. If any doubt arise in our consciences, whom ought we rather to go to

and ask counsel, than of the head-man of our souls? Furthermore, when we be faint-hearted, or have no courage, and are vexed with temptations, we may not despise the remedy that God ordained. Thou hast God's word (Matt. xviii.), "Where two or three, &c." (John, xx.) "whose sins ye shall remit, &c." Whom would not these fatherly promises provoke and allure to confession, when the conscience is lifted up and established (not by man's word, but) by God's word, spoken by man's mouth?

But these be man's additions, to bind a man's conscience with a law, and to compel him to confess all his sins with all their circumstances, at a certain time, to his own priest or curate, whatsoever he be. Hereby men's consciences be marked with a hot iron. For he that is not confessed after the manner that is prescribed in the confessionals, either by the reason of ignorance, or of a frail memory or shamefacedness (yea, though he be ashamed and repent him of his evil life with all his heart), yet for all that, as long as he liveth, he beareth about with him an unquiet conscience and full of despair. And if a man take a little diligence, or have a good memory, or write his sins on a piece of paper, and so confess and pour out into a friar's ear, that cannot well hear all the filthiness of his unclean living, good Lord, how glad is he that not only he hath satisfied the law, but because also he hath taken off his shoulders a burden heavier than Etna, the hill that always burneth. When he hath deserved forgiveness of his sins with this troublesome work, he standeth in his own conceit, which would have despaired, if he had not rehearsed his sins after this manner.

Let the bishops appoint learned men to hear confessions, and not blockheads, and then the people shall come to the priests by heaps and swarms. The which thing while they do not, let them blame them-

selves and not us, if the people set little by their curates.

Furthermore, as concerning the reserving and keeping behind certain causes and chances, let the head rulers in the church tell a cause why they do differ and abhor so greatly the Apostles' rites and teachings. The Scripture maketh no difference of ministers in the labour of the Gospel. When the Lord sent forth his disciples into the world, he gave them like power, saying, "Go into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature: he that shall believe and be baptized, shall be saved." (Mark, xvi.) In John the 20th he saith unto them, "Take ye the Holy Ghost, and whosoever sins ye forgive, they shall be forgiven." Where is here any difference in this matter of forgiveness between a bishop and a simple priest? Is it hard to know what this is to say, "Whose sins ye remit, they shall be remitted?" This is the doctrine of Christ and his Apostles.

OF SATISFACTION.

The new Learning.

A certain satisfaction is to be enjoined to him that is confessed for his sins that be past, according to the quantity or quality of the sins, that he may content and satisfy the righteousness of God. This hath the 17th and 18th distinction of the fourth book of the master of sentences. By this doctrine the grace of Christ's redemption is darkened, overshadowed, and defaced, and man's works enhanced to the most injury of Christ's passion.

The old Learning.

Isaiah the old Prophet, which wrote long before Christ was born, saith in the 53d chapter, "He is broken for our wickedness." The Father hath laid

on his own neck all our iniquities and wickednesses. "I have smitten him for the mischief of my people." Here thou mayest see that Christ did satisfaction for the sins of all the world. Also (1 Pet. ii.), "He bare our sins in his body on the cross, that we should be delivered from sin, and should live in righteousness, by whose stripes we are healed." Also in the first Epistle to the Corinthians, the first chapter, "Christ is our righteousness and redemption." John in the tenth chapter saith, "Christ spent his life for his sheep." Romans the fifth, "We be brought in favour with the Father, by the death of Christ," and not by satisfaction. The same we have also Eph. i. and Col. i. and ii. "Christ took away the obligation or the hand-writing which was against us by the decrees, and he fastened it to the cross." (1 John, chap. i.) "The blood of Christ cleanseth and purgeth us from all sin:" he saith not, our satisfaction doth purge us.

Now have we proved by these places that only the death of Christ is a full satisfaction for the sins of all the world, and not our filthy and unclean righteousness, which Isaiah compared unto the most defiled cloths. Let us then call those scourges or punishments, which our loving Father sendeth us, or we take ourselves (preventing the hand of God), correction, strokes, and such other names as the Scripture useth.

This word, "satisfaction," is a proud word, and hated of all Christian ears that hear sometimes the sound of this saying of St. Luke in the 17th chapter, "When we have done all things which he commanded unto us, yet we may say, that we be unprofitable servants." Let clay and ashes be ashamed of this proud word, "satisfaction" for sins. Shame be unto us, and righteousness unto God. If we with our works and corrections do make amends or satisfac-

tion for our sins, then Christ died in vain. And by this doctrine the grace that bringeth us into favour with God is magnified by the blood of Jesus, and man's work is little set by to the most worthy praise of Christ's passion.

OF FREE WILL.

The new Learning.

A man hath free will and choice not only in the state of innocency, but also of his fall and sin: and it is of so great virtue, that he doing what lieth in him may remove that stop and hindrance of grace, and dispose himself to grace that justifieth. And lest a carnal man, proud enough of himself, should want nourishing for his arrogancy, they go about to strengthen and confirm this doctrine with Scriptures falsely understood.

Ecclesiasticus, in the 15th (say they), saith, and proveth free will, where God is said to have left a man in the power of his own counsel, and to have given him commandments, the which (if he do keep) they should keep and save him. And to this purpose they sweep and gather together whatsoever law or admonition is any where in all the Scripture. As who say, we might gather well after this manner: God hath commanded that we should do this, he hath appointed the conditions of life, he threateneth pain to them that break them: therefore, it is in our power to do that same. Wot ye well, it is a sure argument.

Much like unto this the master biddeth the servant go an hundred miles a-day; ergo, he may go an hundred miles on a day. Although I see many men of great reputation almost promising themselves the victory in the defending of free will, with this short argument; when in the mean season they consider

not how little this doctrine maketh for the glory of Christ, which before all things ought to be sought.

Is it not a great slander of the true learning, to teach after this wise? Grace given freely, or the general influence with the understanding, that understandeth or directeth right, and the will conformably willing, are enough to deserve the first grace, which maketh a man first to come in favour. Who would have looked for so much life and health in the man that was left also dead of the thieves (Luke, x.), that although he could not heal himself, yet he might go into the apothecary's shop, needing no horse, might shew his grief, buy salves, and pay for them when he had done? Go to, I am content, let them teach that justification cannot be by your strength, without grace that justifieth: yet they teach, that the beginning of penance is in us, when they give unto us the preparing unto grace, doing as much as lieth in us, that we may deserve of a seemliness the first grace by a good motion drawn out of the freedom of the will. Is not this to give the first good motion to nature?

Moreover, they say that a man may by his natural strength fulfil God's commandments, as concerning the substance of the act, although not according to the intent of the commander, that is, God. If that be true, it is in a sinner's power to amend or to continue in sin. If nature may do so much, what need have we of grace? If simple men hear those things, when shall they at any time learn Christ truly? When will they give thanks for the unspeakable benefit of their redemption?

A little thing holdeth me, but I lay on these teachers the saying of St. Peter: "They deny the Lord that bought them, and they make merchandise of the people of God, with their feigned words." When did Christ or the Apostles ever speak after

this manner? "The merit of congruence," "the merit of worthiness to do what lieth in him," "free will," "the productive virtue of free will?"—thou Christian man, fly these sayings as the pestilent blast of the crafty serpent, wherewith he maketh nature (which is proud already) to swell against God.

Thou hast (good reader) a taste of the schoolmen's learning of free will, the which hangeth nothing together. For when they be charged with Scripture, in the despite of the Pelagians they will be thought favourers of grace, sometime with marvellous evasion preferring a special help of God, before man's will both in willing and in working. And a little after, they leap back again to the excellent gifts of their nature, lest they should be thought to favour the Manicheans.

The authors of this learning are Pelagius the heretic, Duns, Dorbel, Holcot, Thomas de Aquino, Eckius, Cochleus, Pighius, Buichius: and the most part of the bishops of England both teach and defend this doctrine.

The old Learning.

Rom. xiv. "Whatsoever is not of faith, that is sin." Then that motion of free will before grace is sin. Then what madness is it, when a man cannot do well of himself, but only evil? What health is that, to have power to fall, and not to rise or stand without the help of another? (2 Cor. iii.) "Our sufficiency or ableness to do good is of God." (Rom. iii.) "Faith justifieth." Before faith a man is a sinner and evil; then how can he have a good motion of himself, whom faith hath not stirred up? How can a thorn-tree bring forth a grape? (John. viii.) "Every man that doth sin is the servant of sin." (2 Pet. ii.) "A man is brought in bondage unto

him of whom he is overcome." (Eph. ii.) "By nature we be the children of wrath." (Gen. vi.) We be "flesh." (John, iii.) Except we "be born again." (1 Cor. ii.) "A carnal man perceiveth not those things which be of the Spirit of God." Then how can the servant of sin, the son of wrath, flesh, a carnal man, before he be regenerate, have meet natural power and good motions of himself? Can an evil tree bring forth good fruit? Except that we be regenerate with the grace of Christ (according to the image of the earthly Adam), we bear no goodness: seeing that the Holy Ghost doth expressly and vehemently pronounce, that we be not only prone and ready to evil, but also evil in deed.

Furthermore, the Lord maketh laws, but (before that thou bring in this conclusion, "Therefore we may," or else wherefore have we so many precepts and threatenings?) learn of Paul: (Rom. iii.) that the law is the knowledge of sin, and not the author of righteousness. The law is spiritual, and we be carnal, sold under sin. (Rom. vii.) Therefore thou must be spiritual, that thou mayest keep the law, which is not in thy power, but it is the grace of God. Wherefore thou mayest learn of the law, to know thy misery, the which after thou hast known, thou art compelled to go to Christ, the perfection and the fulfilling of the law. The law justifieth thee not, but it declareth to thy shame, how far thou art from the uncleanness of life by thine own fault: therefore thou mayest not think thus with thyself: I have a good law, what needeth more but my labour and diligence? I know good reason will tell me what is right, I will lay to my hands, and I will be justified by my deeds, drawn out and commanded. Not so, ye wicked persons, not so: hear and take heed of the holy words of Scripture, and the proud Pharisaical spirit shall have his comb cut.

The Israelites did cast in their minds, when the law was set forth, that they could do all things, looking on Moses' face which was covered. But it was said unto them (Deut. v.), "Who can give them such a mind to fear me, and to keep my commandments?" Surely justifying beginneth at fear and love. But ye see that they have not the fear of the Lord, nor such a mind as can do any good of itself. Therefore (Deut. xxx.) saith Moses, "The Lord shall circumcise thine heart;" and (Ezek. xi.) "I will take away the stony hearts;" and (John, vi.) "There cometh no man to me, except my Father draw him." Wherefore, ye hypocrites, learn of the law your duty, feebleness, and pains, and when ye feel Moses' hand heavy, fly to Him for succour with all your heart, the which (Rom. viii.) is described to be the Fulfiller of the law.

(Mat. xi.) Christ promised rest of the soul to all them that be laden. For when we do the best that lieth in us, we, being evil trees, bring forth evil fruits, that is to say, we sin. For such as every man is, such things doth he think, speak, and work. But we be flesh, therefore we savour of fleshly things. Why do we not grant, with St. Austin, in the book of true innocency, that when a man liveth after his own way, and not after God, he is like the devil? for an angel should not have lived after an angel, but after God, that he might stand in the truth. A man hath nought of himself, but lying and sin; but if a man have any truth or righteousness, he hath it of the well, which is Christ. And that which we have by God's liberality, hangeth of God's power, and not of our might.

First, consider well the words of the Holy Ghost (Rom. x.), where he calleth his own "the vessels of mercy," and (Rom. viii.) "the children of God be led with the spirit of God." (Isai. xxvi.)

“ Lord, thou hast wrought all our works in us.” Therefore acknowledge thyself the handy-work of the Almighty Maker, ordained in Christ Jesus to bring forth good works, that he hath ordained (mark, “ which he hath ordained”), that we should walk in them. (Eph. ii.) Therefore, that thou consentest to the inspiration of God, hast a good will, and workest well, the grace of God worketh all these things in thee. Thou indeed consentest, willest, and workest; but God maketh thee to consent, will, and work, so that this saying also may be always justly laid before thine eyes : “ What hast thou, that thou hast not received? If thou hast received it of other, why dost thou rejoice and boast, as though thou hadst not received it?” (1 Cor. iv.) “ Not unto us, Lord, not unto us, but to thy name give praise.” Behold now, not thy free will, but bound. But, “ if the Son deliver thee, then shalt thou be truly free.” (John, viii.) For “ we be turned from sin by Christ, that we may serve righteousness.” (Rom. vi.)

OF FAITH AND WORKS.

The new Learning.

Not only faith justifieth, for works justify also, and faith may stand and be without good fruits and grace that justifieth, in him that is a breaker of the commandments of God. Therefore are there two kinds of righteousness necessary to salvation, that is to wit, of faith and works. The one without the other (except a man have no time or leisure) doth not save a man.

The authors and teachers of this doctrine are, Duns, Durand, Holcot, Bricot, Linwood, Trigerus, Eckius, Pighius, Cochleus, Bilichius, Latomus, and many bishops of England, with their chaplains and many doctors besides, with the whole rabble of

them that are maintainers of antichrist of Rome, and his vain ceremonies.

The old Learning.

“ We suppose that a man is justified by faith, without the deeds of the law.” (Rom. iii.) Here the Apostle doth not doubt or guess (as some do understand him amiss): for the truth of the Greek hath, We reckon, or gather by reason. Theophylact doth expound this word, as though by reasoning he gathered this foresaid saying. Wherefore works do not justify, but faith.

And this is not my dream, but the most sure doctrine of the Holy Ghost, in the third and fourth to the Romans; where the Apostle, reasoning by the Scripture of Abraham being justified, most evidently proveth that faith is reckoned to us for righteousness. “ If Abraham (saith he) was justified by works, he hath whereupon he may boast, but not before God. For what saith the Scripture? (Genesis, xv.) “ Abraham gave credence to God, and that was reckoned unto him for righteousness.” And in the end of the fourth chapter he saith, that “ it was not written for him only, that it was reckoned to him for righteousness, but also for us, to whom it shall be reckoned.” Neither understandeth he here, only the ceremonial works of the law, but also of the commandments, the which is plain, Rom. iii. when he said that no man was justified by the works of the law; shortly after he saith, for the knowledge of sin is through the law. The which clause doth sufficiently shew, of what works of the law he speaketh.

If it be so, that our works also do justify, then Christ giveth but the half of our salvation, and then how many saviours shall there be?

There is only but one Justifier and Saviour, that is Christ, "by whom we be justified freely, through his grace." (Rom. iii.) Therefore works do not justify, but faith in Christ; not that faith the schoolmen call *informis* (that is, a dead faith), but that true and living faith, working by charity. (Gal. v.) Likewise, as we be justified before God by faith, the which is the true justification; so also before men (that see us in the face) we be justified by works; that is to say, we be known to be righteous by the fruit of good works, of the which thing the words of St. James ought to be understood.

So he, that will look well on Paul's disputation of faith and works, shall easily perceive, why that we say that faith alone justifieth. For we feign not with this word *alone*, a faith that is without charity, but we shew that works are not the beginning of our justification, but the fruits and undeceivable tokens of it after that we be justified by the only grace of God, which we take hold of by faith. Also that Paul unto Titus witnesseth, saying, in the third chapter, that we are saved by the mercy of God, we be not saved by works, through the laver of regeneration, and by renewing of the Holy Ghost, lest any man should boast of them.

Good works are not forbidden by this doctrine: but faith, the well of good works, is taught, and unto praise is given that which is her due. Part of the praise is given unto us by the new learning of schoolmen, the which thing how blasphemous it is the faithful Christian men can tell, which have read the same, wherein the saints say, "Not unto us, Lord, not unto us, but unto thy name be given praise." And so the old learning taketh not away works, but setteth them in their place, that they may be witnesses of our faith, subdue the flesh, and serve

our neighbour, but not that they should justify; seeing that only faith, of the mere mercy of God, through his word, doth justify a man.

The person that is justified worketh justly, yet for all that he doth not boast of the righteousness of works as necessary to salvation, lest, when he seeketh his own righteousness, he lose the righteousness of God that is by faith. (Rom. x.) And he granteth the very truth (Isai. xiv.), that the righteousness of his works is like a filthy cloth, and that he is an unprofitable servant. The which is the only way to come to the true righteousness of our works; that is, when thou working busily, yet in all thy works acknowledgest thyself a sinner, flying only to the grace of the Mediator, settest much by the price of our redemption. For if the righteousness of our works be of any value, the death of Christ hath not wholly and fully wrought our salvation, the which is blasphemous. The short argument of Paul standeth, and is sure and immovable: If the righteousness come of the law, then is Christ dead in vain; but Christ died not in vain, therefore ye boast in vain of the righteousness of works and of the law.

Moreover, the Scripture saith, that "he is accursed which abideth not in all things which are written in the book of the law." But no man abideth in all things which are written in the book of the law. Therefore every man is accursed, for lack of keeping the law. How shall a man then be saved by the keeping of the good works which are commanded in the law, when the Scripture condemneth every man for lack of keeping the commandments of God contained in the law?

Can a man be justified by the keeping of that thing for whose transgression, without another helper, he abideth ever accursed? Well, thou dost either two good works, four, eight, or nine,

and leavest out one ; or thou dost all the good works that are commanded in the book of the law. If thou say that thou dost all the works of the law, St. Paul and St. John prove thee a liar. Paul, to the Romans, saith, that “ all men are subdued unto sin, and that all men are sinners, and have need of the glory of God.” John also saith, “ If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us.” If we be always sinners, then are we breakers of the law ; if we be always breakers of the law, then can we not say that we keep the whole law : if we keep nine precepts, and break the tenth, yet, after Paul and James, are we guilty of them all : then seeing that we can never keep the whole law, we are guilty for lack of keeping the law. Therefore can neither we nor any other man be saved and justified by the works and fulfilling of the law. Therefore, to avoid this curse, must we fly for succour to Him which kept the whole law, that his fulfilling of the law by faith, in Him may be our fulfilling of the law, and so we may be justified by Him alone which kept alone the whole law, and not by our works, which are always imperfect, and never able to deserve remission of sins.

This learning is agreeing unto the old psalm-writer, David, which saith, “ If thou, Lord, mark our unrighteousness, who shall be able to stand ? enter not into judgment, Lord, with thy servant.”

OF MERIT OR DESERVING.

The new Learning.

When we do what lieth in us in drawing out of a good motion toward God by the freedom of the will, we deserve the first grace of congruence and seemliness, although not of worthiness. Also the soul endued with grace, by an act drawn out of

the free will and of grace, deserveth worthily everlasting life.

Behold, Christian reader, when carnal wisdom shall hear that she hath such power, and can draw forth by natural power a good motion toward God, and may deserve thereby, will she not fall to the Pharisaical pride? And will she not attribute to herself that which pertaineth to God? The which is nothing else, but to tread under feet the Son of God, and to reckon the blood of the Testament but as an unholy and profane thing, by the which we be sanctified.

Moreover, our nature, which leaneth and setteth too much by herself, swelling with this learning, is brought into the confidence of works. For nature, hearing that we partly can deserve everlasting life with our deeds, will enforce herself to heap together merits: the which being many and plenteous, she will trust unto and have a good hope in them, and when they fall and decay, she will be feeble-minded and despair: by the which error the worthiness and deserving of Christ's death is defaced and hid with darkness, and man's conscience is builded upon the sound of works, and surely at every tempest of tribulation it will fall.

The old Learning.

In the second Epistle unto Timothy, the first chapter, "God saved us not according to our works, but according to his purpose and grace, which was given unto us before the everlasting times." Such-like is there also Tit. iii. Likewise Eph. ii. "Ye be saved by grace through faith, and not of yourselves; it is the gift of God, and not of works, lest any man should boast." The Scripture here taketh away the cause of deserving or merit from our works, and giveth to grace, that we be saved; for that he

saith, “not according to our works,” and also, “not of you.” Surely he doth not admit or receive that act or deed that is drawn out of will, to the praise of salvation or merit.

Christ deserved all things unto us with his blood. And we are justified freely. (Rom. iii.) The heritage was not gotten by our labour, but by Christ’s. The faith in Christ maketh us sons, therefore heirs; therefore works do it not. (Rom. iv.) “To him that worketh is the reward not reckoned of favour, but of duty. To him that worketh not, but believeth in Him that justifieth the ungodly, is faith counted for righteousness.” (Rom. vii.) “For I suppose that the afflictions of this life are not worthy the glory which shall be shewed unto us.” (Luke, xvii.) “When ye have done all things that be commanded you, yet say that ye be unprofitable servants.” (Isa. lxiv.) “All our righteousnesses are as a defiled cloth,” &c. and (1 Cor. iv.) “What hast thou, that thou hast not received?” (Rom. xi.) “Who hath given him aught aforehand, that he might be recompensed again?” (Phil. ii.) “It is God which worketh in you both the will and also the deed, even of good will.” If so be that God worketh in us goodness, what shall we arrogantly claim and ascribe thereof unto our power and strength? And if we deserve the blessing, why doth Scripture call it grace? Therefore we be not saved by our merits, but only by the works and merits of Christ.

But whereas the Scripture sometime maketh mention of reward, there can no man thereupon take just occasion to swell and be proud: for faith working by charity is the gift of God; good works are the gift of God, so that if God reward us, we must understand that he doth not reward our works, but his own works in us. But thou, if thou claim any thing thereof unto thyself, then shalt thou receive

no reward of glory with the wicked pharisees, but thou shalt feel the punishment of the fire of hell.

And seeing that it is so, it may be easily judged who teacheth more truly. I with the Apostle do always exhort men to the true good works, which be done in faith, always taking heed that a man by reason of them trust not in himself, and be reprovèd with the pharisee.

They do so prick and move unto good works, that they rest and put in them the hope of salvation, and the cause of merits: whereby it chanceth that every where men do them with this false opinion, to be justified and saved by them.

We, not despising the grace of God, do teach both that we be saved only by the grace of God, and we build men's consciences not upon works, but upon the stone, that is, Christ, against the which the gates of hell cannot prevail, and do always lean on this most comfortable Gospel, or glad tidings, "The heritage is given by faith, that the promises may be sure and of grace," as saith Paul (Rom. iv. and v.), We being justified therefore by faith, have peace with God through Christ, and not by our merits.

OF SIN.

The new Learning.

The lust or concupiscence that remaineth in a man after baptism, the law of the members, infirmity, or sickness, is no sin, neither venial nor mortal, and after baptism it is not original, but is the pain of sin: nevertheless, it bringeth forth sin. This opinion maketh a man that is baptized slow and dull to fight against the flesh, for he believeth that he is all whole and in safeguard.

The old Learning.

Concupiscence, which sheweth itself by its evil fruits, even in a man that is baptized, is sin of itself. (Rom. vii.) Here the Apostle saith, "Now I mine own self do not this, but the sin which dwelleth and remaineth in me." The Apostle doth not here speak in the person of wicked men: for wicked men do not consent to the law, they serve and obey not the law of God with their mind.

St. Austin was sometime of this opinion, that the Apostle had spoken these words in the person of evil men, but in his *Retractations* and against Julian he doth revoke this opinion, and he saith that at that time he understood not the Apostle aright. Now he that speaketh so, was baptized, and was the elect instrument of God, and yet complaineth of concupiscence, and calleth it sin. Then let the schoolmen tell, whether the Apostle doth well call that concupiscence, which bringeth forth evil fruits (except it be stopped), sin or no. Yea, let them tell, whether the Holy Ghost did err in the word *verily*. (1 Cor. xiv.) The Apostle thanketh God that he spake more with tongues, than all the Corinthians did. Therefore so great an Apostle knew with what words he should name concupiscence.

When we follow that manner of speaking, we are checked, mocked, and cast out as heretics, of them that are little moved with the cause of so great matters, so that they may triumph in the world and live in peace. Then the truth is, that concupiscence (the which bringeth forth the same fruits after baptism that it did before) is called sin: as the Apostle doth exhort them that be baptized (Rom. vi.) "Let not sin reign in your mortal bodies." He doth not say concupiscence, but sin, for so hath the Greek text.

Moreover, there is no man but he knoweth that

sin is known by the law, but this concupiscence is forbidden of the law, for it is sin. Infirmities surely and also pains do not fall under the precept. And it is known that the Apostle saith (Rom. vii.), "I did not know sin but by the law, for I had not known that concupiscence had been a sin, if the law had not said, Thou shalt not lust;" and by and by he calleth it "sin." But this is the difference, namely, before the baptism of the spirit and water, that concupiscence or lust was a sin reigning, but after the washing of regeneration it is sin overcome and subdued. Of its own nature, indeed, it is evil: but a man truly regenerate, and not walking after the flesh, doth repress and hold down sin with the spirit of grace, that it reign not, nor have the over-hand, that there be "no damnation unto them that be grafted in Christ." (Rom. viii.) For it is not reckoned his to damnation, on account of the Spirit that resisteth the flesh. The which thing St. Austin in these words doth conclude: "All sin is forgiven in baptism, not that it should not be at all, but that it should not be reckoned for sin."

Now judge, good reader, which of us speak more truly. They that make so light a thing of this old leaven of malice (calling it a little infirmity only, which nevertheless is no venial sin), do not know the grace of God, and do blaspheme us, that make a great thing of it: as it is a great thing in very deed, and causeth that we should have need of the great grace of God.

We do exalt and magnify with kind devotion and godliness the blood of Christ, wherewith all is purged and redeemed, that we lowly confessors and granters of our sins may find grace in the eyes of God, the just Judge.

OF WORSHIPPING OF SAINTS.

The new Learning.

Not only Christ is our Mediator, but also the saints, which reign in heaven with Christ: wherefore they ought to be called upon as mediators of intercession, the which purchase unto us many good things. Our Lord, dividing his kingdom, hath committed the one half of his kingdom (that is, mercy) to the saints, to be given and distributed unto the world: the other part (that is, judgment) he keepeth behind for himself. For he that will obtain any thing of a prince, he feeleth out some man of authority, at whose request he may obtain that he will have: the which should not speed, if he came to the prince alone.

Mary the Mother of God, if she brake the head of the old serpent, why should she not be a mean for mankind? Therefore our Lady and the saints do work partly our salvation. The blessed Virgin is the neck, Christ is the head, and we be the members. No good gifts come down unto the members, but through Mary, as the neck. Also the saints work miracles; for how many being sick with divers sicknesses have been holpen at the monuments and tombs of the saints? This is the doctrine of all the Papists, which have written for these five hundred years.

The old Learning.

A sinner alone may not appear in the sight of God (for our God is a consuming fire, Heb. xiii.), except he be brought to him by a mediator, for whose merit's sake he doth forgive the sinner's trespasses. Christ is the Mediator (1 Tim. ii. Heb. ix, Rom. viii.); our satisfaction (1 John, ii.); our

righteousness (1 Cor. i.) ; our priest for ever (Psa. cix. Heb. iv. v. vii. viii. ix. x.). Christ is not a fearful judge to faithful men, but an advocate, calling unto him those that be heavy laden. (Matt. xi.) He is of so great mercy, that he gave his life for his sheep. (John, x. Matt. xx.) Then we ought not to be afraid of Christ, as if he were a judge, but we ought to come to the throne of grace, because we be sinners, that so we may be delivered from sin, for he is the Lamb, &c. (Matt. ix. Luke, v.) He came not into this world to call righteous men, &c.

A sick man feareth not a physician, but the sicker that he is, the more desirous he is of the physician. Shall that Physician that died for us, when we were yet sinners (Rom. v.), be now unconstant, and do nothing but threaten and kill, so that we have need of some man to play the mediator and mean between him and us to assuage his wrath ? O unseeming thought of a Christian man ! what a carnal and fleshly dream is this ! How fond a kind of fellows are these ! How unlearned in the Scriptures ! Who died for us ? Did Stephen or Peter ? Did not Christ die for us ? And that for such a charity, as is not able to be expressed ? (John, xv.) Greater love than this can no man have, even that a man bestow his life for his friends : and yet, for all that great charity, we dream that Christ is a fearful tyrant, and that he will put away a wretched sinner needing a physician with a cruel countenance, and commit him to the tormentors, except he bring some saint with him.

So worship we now the Son of God, which humbled himself to the death of the cross, that we do not believe his words, when he saith, “ Come to me, and I shall refresh you,” “ I am the way,” “ I bestow my life for my sheep ;” but dare be so bold as to accuse him of lying, and say, “ These be void

words, which thou dost say; thou hast committed mercy to the saints; thou canst do nothing but threaten and undo sinners. I will turn me to some of the saints, which shall be my patron and advocate by thee."

Are not these sayings wicked and ungodly? Yet they that would be reckoned most holy of all, be of this mind and opinion, and they condemn us of heresy before the matter is known. The Scripture biddeth us ask in the name of Christ such things as we have need of (John, xvi.), and not in the name of saints. Reconciliation and salvation are in none other name. (Acts, iv.) The priesthood of Christ is for evermore. And the Apostle saith (Rom. viii.), that Christ remaineth and abideth at the right hand of the Father, and maketh intercession for us: he is the way to the Father. (John, xiv.) By him we have an entrance to come to the Father. (Eph. ii.) By him we have boldness and entrance to God in all confidence through the faith in him. (Eph. iii.) He is our hope. (1 Tim. i.) He came that he might save sinners. (1 Tim. i.) He gave himself an oblation to God for us. (Eph. v.)

And we among so many praises of burning charity and free mercy have not learned yet to trust in Him, which is our reconciler and bringer in favour; who is so gentle and liberal, that he did not disdain to be an oblation for sin for us, that we might be made the righteousness of God through him, who is so mighty that they that believe in him cannot be ashamed. (Rom. ix.)

Furthermore, the mother, that is a virgin, usurpeth or taketh unto her none of these things that they sing to her praise. I pray you for shame, dare the corrupters of Scripture give that unto the mother which the Holy Ghost did prophesy of the Son of God? (Gen. iii.) For he and not she did break the

serpent's head. Inasmuch that I cannot tell whether I should marvel more at the gross and ridiculous ignorance of these great masters, or that I should cry out upon the wicked and ungodly opinion that they have of Christ. They have so little regard to what they say, that all the thought that they take is, that always they shall be saying something.

And even as in times past the philosophers of the sect of Epicurus and the Stoics affirmed that God did none otherways, and had none other subsistence than they imagined him to have, and described the nature of God with vain dreams and devices of their opinions: likewise, our false divines imagine Christ to give from him his mercy to saints, and to be a fearful Judge, and that he damneth all sinners, except that he be pleased and assuaged by the intercession of some saint. And this imagination pleaseth them well, and they command the church so to believe.

These fellows also make Mary the neck of the mystical body. Who can abstain from laughing, yea, rather weeping? They make articles of the faith besides the Scriptures of their own brain, and where they should only stick to the Scripture, they bring forth old wives' fables for sound and true things, measuring all godly things with the plummet or line of our reason, and by the similitudes of this world. And whereas they trifle both unlearnedly and ungodlily, yet they be not afraid to drive to the fire as many as will not play the fools with them. And that in all points they may play the false doctors, they wrest the Scriptures to confirm their errors; of the which thing I have spoken very largely in our common places.

But lest any man should think that I say this in the reproach of saints, so I think that saints should be worshipped, but after the rule of Scripture; see-

ing that they be the glorious members of the mystical body, the household of God, and joined unto us with the most sure bond of charity. For charity perisheth not, but is made perfect in heaven: wherefore they love us, and covet with a brotherly love our amendment. Therefore let us reverently and holily keep the memory and remembrance of them, in whom we may see the wisdom of God, his goodness, power, and the unspeakable riches of his mercy, to the exercise of our faith, hope, and charity. For as oft as we remember their manly fightings against the gates of hell, and the manifold grace of God, the which the Father of all comfort poured forth upon the vessels of mercy, we are lifted up in hope and trust of so great goodness. And we be provoked to the following of so great perseverance by their virtues, set out as vehement enticements.

What good and devout man is there, but he will desire with all his heart that he might overcome the enemy of our salvation with such strength of faith as the saints were endued and harnessed withal? that at last, his enemies being overcome, he might be associated and accompanied for evermore with the elect and chosen of God. And when he doth see so excellent vessels of glory made of the children of wrath, and of the lump of perdition, not by man's merit, but by the power of the grace of God: that he will conceive a trusty hope of so merciful a Father, the which made us worthy when he found us unworthy. Then if we pray to God for faith, hope, and charity, and seek the kingdom of heaven before all other things, that we may follow the footsteps of the right saints, then have we worshipped the saints very well, and even as we should do. For the will of God and the saints is one, wherefore what other thing will they ask, than the amendment of a sinner, and the

continual recording and remembrance of the laws of God ?

But that we should fly for succour to them in our adversity and need, that they may be means between us and God, they neither do require it; for they seek nothing but the glory of God: neither can we desire them to be mediators for us, except we do injury to the most perfect and most sufficient Mediator of all. Now seeing that the Scripture is our candle, in the most dark night of this world, we be more sure that call upon God by Christ (the which thing the Scripture doth command), than they which imagine new kinds of worshipping invocations, of the which the Scripture maketh no mention at all.

“ Call upon me (saith the Lord) in the time of tribulation, and I shall deliver thee, and thou shalt honour me.” (Psa. xlv.) And (Joel, ii.) “ Whosoever will call on the name of God for help shall be saved.” And in this matter we force not upon long time or long custom, for Christendom or a Christian man’s living standeth not in the passing over long time, or in the oldness or antiquity of custom, but in the Scripture of everlasting truth.

Now, good reader, judge what kind of Christian men they be, that fasten their hope not in Christ, but in creatures, knowing nothing at all, how much help we have in Christ: they differ very little from idolaters. And while they go about most earnestly to honour saints, they dishonour them most far out of rule and fashion that can be, even when they give away from God to the creature, hope and confidence, the which is due only to God. As touching the miracles, read the 24th chapter of Matthew and the 2d Epistle to the Thessalonians, and your mind shall be at rest and certified.

OF THE SUPPER OF THE LORD.

The new Learning.

The sacrament of the altar must be given only unto priests under both the forms, and to the laymen only under the likeness of bread; because that Christ, by a natural accompanying or following, is whole under both the kinds, according unto the saying of the sequence, "the flesh is meat, the blood is drink; Christ abideth, for all that, whole under both the kinds." A layman must take his right every year once at the least, according to the chapter "*utriusque sexus*." The mass of a priest is a sacrifice both for quick and dead, and the sin and the uncleanness of the person of the minister stoppeth not the fruit, seeing that the wrought work of the mass hath strength, and the oblation is made in the person of the whole church; wherefore is it a great merit, for by it we deserve much to ourselves, and also to others.

Wherefore the ordinances of masses be good, and yearly obits be profitable. For in other good works the wickedness of the person of the minister taketh away the cause of the merit: here it letteth nothing, where the faith of the church is considered, and not the worthiness of the person. This is the sum. A wicked man and an ungodly, having only a due intent, although he be abominable in the sight of God, yet for all that, in this case, because he beareth the person, or is in the room of the church, he abiding a sinner, and a damnable person, purchaseth and deserveth unto other men, remission of sin and everlasting life.

This doctrine teach Duns, Dorbel, Holcot, Bricot, Latomus the lawyer, Latomus the divine, Eckius, Veheus, Cochleus, Pigghius, Fisher bi-

shop of Rochester, divers bishops of England, and doctors of divinity, with the whole rabble of Papists of all other lands, which hate Luther, and hold with the pope and his ceremonies.

The old Learning.

The Apostle, in the first Epistle to the Corinthians, the eleventh chapter, preparing the supper of the Lord, did write, that he took of the Lord that he taught and gave to the Corinthians. And when he expounded the business and matter concerning the supper, he giveth both the forms indifferently to all the brethren, even as Christ did ordain, Mat. xxvi. Mark, xiii. Luke, xxii. Here we have the word and the deed of the Lord, and of his minister, Paul, and also of the primitive church, in the which, as the faith was more lively, charity was more fervent, hope was more sure, and holy Christendom was more pure, for it was nearer the quick spring.

If it be so, that it is not lawful for us to keep the word and the deed of Christ, and especially in a great matter, as in the sacrament, for what intent shall the church of God have the Scripture expounded and declared? Did not even the new writers (as Gerson) say, that neither the bishop of Rome, nor general council, nor yet the church, ought to change the learning that was given us by the Evangelists and by Paul?

If it be lawful for every man that list, to change in the sacraments of the church those things which Christ taught to be kept, and the Apostles both taught and kept, I pray you, what ease shall the church be in then, which shall be compelled to believe that Christ, the wisdom of the Father, and the Apostles, did teach Christendom so unperfectly and negligently, that their successors had need to

supply, amend, and make perfect those things that Christ and his Apostles left behind them raw and unperfect?

Will the Saracens, the Arabians, and the Hagar-
renes (whom we call Turks), suffer, that any man
at his pleasure, after this fashion, should change
their Alcoran, and would sometimes take something
away, sometimes utterly abrogate and disannul it;
that their law-maker had written something un-
awarily, or without diligent heed and deliberation?
And we Christian men, except we suffer the church
to be turned out of frame and perverted, to be
darkened, and to be pulled asunder and diminished,
yea, to be utterly cast away, we be banished and
destroyed as the enemies of the church. Put the
case, that these be tolerable; who can abide that idle
fellows shall make merchandise of it that was left
to be the memorial and remembrance of the death
which brought life, whereby they make a sacrifice of
the mass, and crucify Christ again, as much as lieth
in them? For if it be so, that they work with their
daily sacrifice (as they call it) remission of sin, I
pray you then, what sins did the blood of the new
and everlasting Testament take away?

This is therefore our catholic belief of the supper
of the Lord:

First, The supper of the Lord ought to be done
after the ordinance of Christ (1 Cor. xi.), that our
faith may be increased, our charity kindled, our hope
made sure by the continual remembrance of the
death of the Lord, and that we, knowing the cause
of the most precious death of the Lord, may be daily
more and more stirred up to give thanks for his un-
speakable love, to destroy the body of sin, and to
walk in newness of life.

Secondly, Therefore the supper of the Lord is a

memorial of the death of Christ, which brought salvation; and not a sacrifice, but a remembrance of the sacrifice that was once offered up upon the cross.

Thirdly, There is a promise (Ps. cix.) that Christ shall be our bishop for evermore ordained of the Father; and this promise is performed. For Christ hath entered once into the holy place, by an oblation, making perfect for evermore. (Heb. x. 10.) So that we need not to have him offered up for us again, the which dieth no more.

Fourthly, We know by the book of Leviticus, that the oblation of Moses was made for sins, when the oblation did satisfy, and the blood did wash. Then, if this one sacrifice (in the which Christ did offer up himself) did satisfy for the sins of the whole world, according to the prophecy of Isaiah, liii. "He did bear our sins, and he was torn for our wickedness," and (1 John, ii.) "He is our satisfaction," and so forth; it followeth and is a good argument, that all the oblations which are besides this, the which they pretend, be vain and void.

Fifthly, To raise up a new oblation is to set little by the first, to prove God a liar, and to deny Christ which bought us, after all the words of St. Peter, (2 Pet. ii.) For what they say that sins be released and forgiven in the sacrifice of the mass, when the Son of God is offered up both for quick and dead, it followeth, after their opinion, that that only sacrifice of the cross did not satisfy for all sins. And, I pray you, is not that ever to forswear and deny the Lord, which did redeem us, not with corruptible things, as with gold and silver, but with his own precious blood, when we say that it is done by the virtue of the mass, the which all Scripture doth say cometh to us by the death of our Lord Jesus Christ.

Sixthly, Yet for all that, we do not affirm sins to be remitted only by the partaking of the supper of the Lord, but when we do remember with a true and kind faith, the benefit of our redemption, in the which the Son of God did give his body a sacrifice for sins, and shed his blood to wash away sin: by this faith we be justified and made righteous, and we obtain remission of our sins, gotten by the death of Christ. And this is a delicious feast of souls, of the which they, that are not partakers, shall perish.

Christ, in the sixth chapter of John, saith, "My flesh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed; the bread, that I shall give, is my flesh, the which I will give for the life of the world." Except we eat this flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, we shall not have life in us, but we shall perish. For it is the bread of life, giving life to the world.

The which bread to eat, is to believe in Christ, as he saith, "I am the bread of life: he that cometh to me shall not be an-hungred, and he that believeth in me shall never be thirsty. Verily, verily, I say unto you, he that trusteth in me hath everlasting life." For as the body is fed with natural bread, so is the soul refreshed, and liveth with this heavenly bread. For when the soul believeth that Christ is the price of our redemption, our satisfaction and our righteousness, with this faith it eateth the flesh and drinketh the blood, and, according to the words of Christ (John, vi.), by so wholesome an eating shall we live for ever.

Such great things be they which be rehearsed about the table of the Lord. God grant that this ceremony of Christ may be restored to its old strength and integrity again, that we, which be the body of Christ, our head, admonished of the love of God, in the supper towards us, may grow together with unloosable glue of love, as it becometh members,

purging the flock with the bolt of excommunication, and eating truly the flesh of the Lord, that is, to believe in Christ crucified, and that we may be grafted in him by the likeness of his death, and that we may be partakers with him in the most glorious resurrection. Amen.

OF THE CHOICE OF MEATS.

The new Learning.

It is not lawful to eat every day all sorts of meats : for it is necessary that we abstain from flesh every Friday and Saturday, and on the embring days, and in Lent; for he that doth otherwise, without the bishop of Rome's bulls, or the pardons of the legates of the see of Rome, doth sin, and shall be reckoned an evil Christian man, yea, a wicked and an ungodly heretic.

The authors of this learning are the Pope and his guard, which both in England and Germany write against the Germans.

The old Learning.

In the eleventh chapter of Leviticus, and the fourteenth of Deuteronomy, the choice of meats is prescribed unto the Jews, which were under Moses, so that it was not lawful for them to eat whatsoever meat they list. But let us, which are commanded of Paul (Gal. v.), stand fast in the liberty into the which Christ hath brought us. And that we should not put our neck under the yoke of bondage again, give heed and attendance to what our Master Christ doth say (Mat. xv.), "Hear and understand: it that goeth into the mouth, defileth not the man, but it that goeth out of the mouth, that defileth a man." The words of Christ take away the choice of meats, so that it is lawful in the time of the New Testament, to eat flesh and fish, whether ye will, without any sin.

In the first Epistle to Timothy, the fourth chapter, the Holy Ghost doth call the forbidding of meat and of marriage the doctrine of the devils. For God hath created meat to be received, with giving of thanks, of them which believe and have known the truth : for the creatures of God are good, and nothing to be refused, if they be received with thanksgiving, for it is sanctified by the word of God and prayer. By the one text of the Apostle is plucked up by the roots whatsoever hitherto men have taught or commanded of the choice of meat. For the Holy Ghost calleth it devilish doctrine, the which no man can keep and obey without the loss of his salvation.

Let it move no man that St. Jerome doth wrest these sayings against the Tatians and the Marcionites : doubtless, our consciences be delivered from the choice of meats by these words of the Holy Ghost. Therefore whosoever he be, Marcion, or any of this time, that bindeth with a commandment that thing which Christ would have to be free, he is reprov'd with this text as unkind to God, and a despiser of a good creature. Saith Paul (Col. ii.), " Let no man judge you in meat and drinks. If you be dead with Christ from the elements of the world, why be you holden with decrees, as if ye were living in the world?" This text also is plain against all the praisers and preachers of man's traditions, the which do trouble men's consciences with men's precepts of the choice of meats.

Although this maketh against the observations of the Jews, yet it plucketh up by the roots all the traditions of men in this matter. For if Moses' law in that point be abrogated and put down, the which was once ordained of God ; how much more justly the constitutions of men ought to be disannulled and put away, by the which these cruel tyrants covet a kingdom in men's consciences ! (Gal. i.) " If any man preach any other gospel or glad tidings unto

you than ye have received, hold him accursed." Therefore whatsoever other thing is thrust into our hands against and beside the word of God to bind men's consciences, by the sentence of the Holy Ghost, it is accursed. Wherefore we must refuse it both with hand and foot. (Tit. i.) "Rebuke them sharply that they may be found in the faith, and not taking heed to Jews' fables and commandments of men, the which turn from the truth." Unto the clean are all things clean, but to them that are defiled and unbelieving is nothing clean; but even the very minds and consciences of them are defiled.

Who would not abhor these precepts, which turn from the truth? Even so the Holy Ghost decketh man's traditions with this title: with the which tradition the deceivers of men's minds go about to bind men's consciences, where God biddeth not.

Here I do not regard those great praisers of abstinence, the which will call me the Epicure of Christian men, as St. Jerome called Jovinian, as though I went about to loose the bridle of gluttony. These fellows will dispute with a full belly, of fasting, and yet they eat pheasants, partridges, and all the picked dainties that can be found in a country. Now tell me, I pray you, what have I said beside the sentences of the Holy Ghost? I do not teach the abuse, but the right use of the creatures of God with giving thanks. I take not thought only for the belly, but also of the conscience. For with these man's traditions, men's consciences be marked with a hot iron, and God is worshipped with commandments of men: the which thing in the 29th of Isaiah he hateth and abhorreth. It is a very jeopardous matter to lay snares for men's consciences, and to offend against the Christian liberty, which cost so much.

If any man lay against us St. Jerome, or any other of the fathers, I answer, that the fathers were never

in that blindness, that they would be believed more than the Scripture. He despiseth not the fathers which enforceth himself, and laboureth to glorify the Father of all which is in heaven. He that in the matter of conscience doth think that God should rather be obeyed than man, doth not contemn man, but magnifieth God the Lord of men and angels. And the condition and state of Christian men is not so that they ought to take example or rule of living of the prophets of Jupiter, that abstain from flesh and sodden meats ; or of the temple of Eleusis (that is, Ceres), or of Orpheus : yet that holy man is not ashamed in his monkery of so void words in the second book against Jovinian.

As touching offending, I have taught always according to the Apostle's doctrine (Rom. xiv.), that we should have a respect and regard to weak persons, that " he that eateth, despise not him that eateth not ; he that eateth not, let him not judge him that eateth." And albeit he saith there is nothing unclean in itself, but unto him which reckoneth that it is unclean ; yet, for all that, he will not that our brother should be grieved with the abuse of our liberty, and be lost with meat, for whom Christ suffered death.

There be other far greater things than meat and drink, that a Christian man should regard, namely, peace and edifying. For the kingdom of God is not meat and drink, but righteousness, and peace and joy in the Holy Ghost, as Paul saith (Rom. xiv.). Therefore let us follow those things that belong unto peace and the edifying of our brother one toward another. Hast thou faith ? Keep it to thyself before God. And (1 Cor. viii.) " Knowledge maketh man to swell, charity edifieth :"—" take heed lest your liberty offend those that be weak." All these be the wholesome doctrine of the Holy Ghost, and give

none occasion of gluttony, as the defenders of traditions do dream.

OF FASTING.

The new Learning.

We must fast certain days under the commandment, as the Apostles' Evens, the four Embering-days, and the Lent.

The old Learning.

Our life is a warfare, or a soldier's life. (Job, viii.) We must fight continually with an enemy that we have at home within us, namely, the flesh, lest it, being made too fat and wanton with excess of meat and drink, prevail against the Spirit. "Take heed to yourself (saith Christ, Luke, xxi.), lest your hearts be overcome with surfeiting and drunkenness, that the day of the Lord come not unto you as a snare." (Rom. xiii.)

The Holy Ghost doth command to cast away the works of darkness, and to put on the armour of light, and he rehearseth unreasonable eating and banqueting and drunkenness among them. He doth appoint no certain day, but only he saith, "Make no provision for the flesh, to fulfil the lusts of it:" willing that we should abstain from unreasonable eating and drunkenness, to put away the works of darkness, not for one or two days, but at all times.

Let no man think that this fast is a Christian man's fast, which now reigneth, is commanded and highly praised, when we fast certain hours, and other days make lusty cheer, worshipping our belly for our God. In the which thing we be worse than the heathen men, which did order their livelihood not to pleasure, but to the health and strength of

their bodies. For they, considering what excellency and worthiness there is in the nature of a man, did perceive how foul a thing it were to flow in excess, to live deliciously and pleasantly, and how honest it were to live scarcely, measurably, sadly, and soberly.

The Apostle admonisheth us (1 Thess. v.) of our state and condition: "We (saith he) are the children of light and the children of the day: let us be sober." He biddeth us not to do so for two or three days, but all the time that we bear about us this body of sin.

Who can here in so great diversities of complexions prescribe measures and days? Every man knoweth himself how long he hath need to fast, and what punishment he needeth to tame his flesh withal. Therefore we do not prescribe daily fasts, as the Essenes did, nor yet, with the makers of traditions, fasts appointed to a certain time: but we exhort to continual soberness, and to see that the flesh be brought under, lest when the Lord cometh we be found careless without any thought. And after this manner always we do exhort, move, and drive in season and out of season the church and congregation of Christ, to a temperate life, and to a fast beseeeming a Christian man; but we do refuse and cast away the full belly and drunken fast as stinking hypocrisy, the which we cast in God's teeth, even as a merit, and yet it maketh nothing for the subduing of the flesh, seeing that it being proud by the bodily exercise only, regardeth not true holiness.

I will send these hypocrites unto Isaiah the Prophet, to the 58th chapter, where they may learn sufficiently what manner of fast God would have. "Think you (saith he) that I love this manner of fasting, whereby men at the prescribed and certain days chasten themselves, going with their heads writhen down like an hook, strewed with ashes, and

clothed with sackcloth? Wilt thou say that this manner of fast," and that upon this or that appointed day, "is more acceptable to the Lord? But rather even contrariwise, this manner of fasting do I allow and love."—"Forgive thy debtors wrapped in shrewd bargains, and loose their violent obligations: set them at liberty whom thou didst cast into prison for debt, and break from them all manner of bonds and yokes: divide out thy meat and drink to the hungry and thirsty, and the poor wayfaring stranger lead thou home to thy house: when thou seest the naked, clothe him, and turn not thy face from thine own flesh."

Here thou seest that the body indeed must be chastened: but that outward punishment doth little avail, except thou ordain it to the fasting of the mind, that is, to abstain from evil desires and affections, and from covetousness and unmercifulness. And that we may fast after this wise, ye need no choice of meats, except the manner and cause of taming the flesh require it. For thou dost abstain and usest very scarcely all manner of meat to the sustenance of thy nature: therefore thou mayest use fish or flesh, whether thou wilt: howbeit fish be a manner of flesh, as witnesseth the Apostle (1 Cor. xv.), and Pliny (in his History of Nature), lest any, playing the Jew, should wrench his nose at this.

OF THE DIFFERENCE OF DAYS.

The new Learning.

The days be not equal and alike: some be holy, and the others not so. Therefore the Sunday is holy day to all Christian men, to be hallowed in idleness: likewise our Lady days and the Apostles' days and others, be chosen of the church to keep holy day, and to abstain from labour: so that if any man do

any servile or handy labour, and work in the aforesaid days, he sinneth. Wherefore if any man, constrained by necessity, do any work either at home or abroad on the holy day, he shall be more cruelly handled of the bishops, officials, and curates, than if he had committed adultery, or had pilled his neighbour with usury.

The old Learning.

Certain days must be appointed, whereupon men must forbear from handy labour, lest they diminish the faith of Christ. And that we may hear the better and more commodiously the word of everlasting health, and may receive the supper of the Lord, and shew to God with common petition the necessity and need of the church, and that we may pray together, there must needs be certain days appointed, in the which (as the business of the soul is in hand) we must abstain from profane and household labours. Yet, for all that, we must take heed lest we hurt and destroy men's souls with snares of commandments, and take heed that we play not the Jews, and observe holy days, as they did, and the feasts of the new moon, against the doctrine of the Holy Ghost, Gal. iv. as though they were all necessary to be kept for righteousness: for that were to cast away the liberty of faith, and to turn again to the weak and beggarly elements of ceremonies, and to deny Christ.

The Hebrews were commanded to keep the certain days; but when the light came, the shadow vanished away; so that it is not lawful for any man to ordain any law, or make sin where Scripture maketh none, and leaveth us liberty. (Col. ii.) Let no man judge you, &c. St. Jerome saith, that it is lawful to fast always, and to eat the holy body of the Lord, and always to pray. And the Apostle (Rom. xiii.)

will not that he should be rashly judged, the which judgeth the same of every day. Those things which were commanded or forbidden in the laws as concerning days, meats, clothing, places, and persons, or outward things, they were ordained and laid on men's necks for the time of correction. But now when the grace of the Gospel doth shine, they vanish away, and liberty reigneth, whereby we worship God no more with certain days prefixed, except the Sabbath rightly used, and with outward works, as the Jews did, but in spirit and truth. For these ceremonies of the law did belong to the Jews, and not to the Gentiles. (Acts, xv.) Ye may see plainly (Matt. xii. Mark, ii. Luke, xiv.) how Christ the author of our liberty did treat these things, and how he taught us the true use of the Sabbath. Therefore it were the bishops' duty to put down some of those needless holy days, the which give occasion to the people both to lose their money and their souls, and rather, to teach them the spiritual nature of the holy Sabbaths of the Lord.

OF PRAYER.

The new Learning.

We must pray at certain hours ; as at matins, the sixth and third hour, the first at even-song, and at such others. And it is made more conveniently in churches hallowed unto God, according to this saying : " Bless the Lord in the churches, &c."—" My house shall be called the house of prayer." There be many things in temples, which stir up devotion, as the majesty of the place, the christened bells, sacring bells, singers, wax candles, the relics of saints, pictures, images, hallowed vestments, the sacrament of the altar, hallowed altars in the worship of saints, banners, supplications, the anointing of the church,

and the hallowing of the same, the holy water, which even the devils be afraid of, the presence of angels : for it is written (Gen. xxviii.), “ This place is terrible,” and there is a sure promise of hearing, as it is (1 Kings, viii.), that the Lord answered to the prayer of Solomon, “ I have heard thy prayer, which thou prayedst before me, I have hallowed this place which thou hast builded, that I may set my name there for evermore, and mine eyes and mine heart shall be there for evermore, &c.” Also there be certain hallowed beads, and they be hung upon the church doors, and a certain number of *Pater-nosters* and *Ave-Marias* must be kept : also there be some prayers, which have pardon belonging thereto. And we say a *Pater-noster* every day to our own Apostles and to the saints which we have chosen unto ourselves for devotion.

This is the learning of the Popish friars, monks, and sacrificing priests, with all other Popish preachers, which had liever that the people should be the disciples of man, than of God.

The old Learning.

The blessed Trinity is to be worshipped in every place. (Psa. ciii.) “ O thou my soul give thanks, and bless the Lord in every place of his lordship.” Christ also saith, John, iv. “ The hour cometh, and now is, when the true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and in truth, for verily such the Father requireth to worship him. God is a spirit, and they that worship him must worship him in spirit and verity.” Where Christ doth answer the Samaritan, asking him of the place of prayer, he saith, “ Woman, believe me, the hour cometh (yea, and he said that the hour was even come), when ye shall neither in this mountaine, nor yet in Jerusalem, worship the Father.” (1 Tim. ii.) Saith Paul, “ I

will that men pray in every place, lifting up pure and clean hands, without wrath, arguing, or altercation."

Likewise, in the 7th chapter of the Acts, where St. Stephen, checking the blindness of Jews, advancing the temple of Solomon, saith, "But He that is highest of all dwelleth not in temples made with hands." As saith also the Prophet Isaiah (lxvi.), "Heaven is my seat, and earth is my footstool. What house will ye build for me? saith the Lord. Or what is my resting-place? Hath not my hand made all these things? And all these things be male, saith the Lord. On whom then shall I look? Even on him that is of an humble and lowly spirit, and standeth in awe of my words." We have the words of the Father and of the Son; and as for the place of prayer, the which the Holy Ghost spake, shall we not believe the Son, whom the Father commanded to be heard? (Matt. xvii.) and he did say with an earnest affirmation, "Woman, believe me, &c."

I know that there was in the old law the ark of the covenant, and the sumptuous temple of the Lord, where the Jews had the promise of God. (2 Chron. vii.) "Mine ears shall be lifted unto the prayers of him, which shall pray in this place, for I have chosen this place." But what shall we do now, seeing that Moses is gone, which was the servant of the holy house of the Lord, and the Son cometh, Jesus Christ, which is the Apostle and the Bishop of our faith and confession? (Heb. iii.) And that "he is come to prepare the quick temples of God, as a bishop of good things for to come, entering by a greater and more perfect tabernacle not made with hands, (that is to say,) not of man's building, neither by the blood of goats and calves, but by his own blood he entered once for all into the holy place, and found everlasting redemption." (Heb. ix.) "He is

gone that gave the law, and another is come in his room, by whom grace is given." (John, i.) Aaron is gone. For the true Priest for ever after the order of Melchizedek is come. To conclude, the figure is vanished, because the light hath shined.

Then what need we so costly and glorious pomp of ceremonies in the New Testament? We dispraise not those buildings, to the which the people come to hear the word of God more commodiously; but we dispraise the abuse and the error, namely, that they keep no measure, and can never make an end of building and decking of such royal churches.

The Lord requireth the spirit and truth, and we contrariwise shew and set forth a carnal pomp and solemnity of ceremonies, the which is not only as great as all the Jews' fashions and rites, but passeth them far, both in number and greatness; having, instead of the spirit, the flesh; for the truth, most coloured and painted hypocrisy. For we spend the whole day in singing, sacrificing, and mumbling: we speak with tongues, but no man preacheth, which should speak unto men, to edify, exhort, and comfort. (1 Cor. xiii.) The Apostle will speak five words with his understanding, that he may instruct and teach others also, rather than ten thousand with tongues. We thunder out psalms without understanding for advantage and lucre, making a sound without devotion: and, alas! the word of God is compelled to give way to this blind service, and the ordinance of the Apostle also.

We cry now-a-days as the Jews cried in times past, (Jer. vii.) "The temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord:" "God's service, God's service, God's service," trusting in words of lying: whereas all this business of ceremonies is plain hired gear for money, that it may be fulfilled that the Lord said (Mal. i.), "Who

is there among you that will shut the doors, and will kindle mine altar freely for nought?" Wherefore it followeth, "I have no pleasure in you, saith the Lord of hosts: I will take no reward of your hands." If the tragedy and spectacle of ceremonies liketh you so well, go to, let us bring home again the whole Jewishness, and the whole manner of worshipping of the Jews; let us deck up Aaron, let us ordain Levites, let us kill and offer up sheep, oxen, and calves, and let us even be circumcised with the mad Jews, and let us look for another Messiah, that may bring us unto the land of Canaan, not by the power of the Lord, but of the world.

Surely, if the most costly and sumptuous worshipping of God is Christ's religion, in the which holiness consisteth, I grant that I cannot tell what is our religion. But if Christ be our Lord and Master, and his doctrine be the doctrine of the Father, the truth, and the way; then is the whole heap of ceremonies nothing less than the worshipping of God. Where do we read in the Gospel of hired prayers, which ye will let a man have for money? and if he give no penny, he shall have no *Pater-noster*. Where doth the Lord allow buying and selling, chopping and changing in holy things?

As for those places which they bring for the appointment and assigning of a certain place of prayer, every man may see that they handle them without any manner of judgment, and with plain ignorance of Scripture. It is even of the same sort that they feign, that the devil is afraid of holy water, as though he were not more afraid at the sight of a Christian man, whom the anointing of the Holy Ghost hath made holy, and who is the temple of the Holy Ghost.

And as for that, that they bring for the hallowing of beads, and the number of *Pater-nosters*, as the Psalters of our Lady, and such other as is more vain

than any trifles be in the world, and more foolish than the tales which old wives tell in winter nights by the fireside; therefore we must pray to the Father of heaven, through our Lord Jesus Christ, in spirit and truth, in every place, that our prayers be not bound to places. For either we go into our private chamber, and shut the door after us, and pray to the Father, which is in secret; or we pray in every place after the learning of St. Paul, in the first Epistle, the second chapter, of Timothy.

The whole world is the temple and church of God. The heaven and the heaven of heavens are not able to receive the Lord, how much less then this church? "If I ascend up to heaven," saith the royal Prophet, "thou art there. If I descend to go down into hell, thou art present." And God his own self saith by Jeremiah the Prophet, in the 23d chapter, "I fill both heaven and earth." And the Apostle, in preaching to the men of Athens, saith, "God is not far from us, for we live in him, are moved, and be in him." (Acts, xvii.)

OF VOWS.

The new Learning.

"Vow to the Lord, and perform it that ye vow." (Psalm lxxv.) Therefore we may vow, and we ought to perform it that we vow: for there is a law made of giving to them which vowed. In the third book of the Sentences, a vow is made when a man of his own will promiseth, that he will do or keep some good thing, to the which otherwise he is not bound, although he be bound after the vow be made. There be three principal and substantial vows, that is, of poverty, chastity, and obedience. He that is once made a religious man or a priest, is bound to live so for ever by his vow.

The old Learning.

A vow is a law (say the schoolmen) made to perform such things as men have vowed. It is plain what the holy Scripture doth affirm, and judge of the law and of the works of it. Now is man not justified or made righteous by the law and works of Moses' law : how much less by the work of vows, when Scripture utterly refuseth and defieth man's traditions, and God will not be worshipped with laws of man's traditions. (Isaiah, xxix. Matt. xxv. Mark, vii.) For only faith in Christ doth justify, and not works, whatsoever they be : and sincere faith will not suffer men to put confidence in their works. Indeed faith bringeth forth works, because she worketh by charity, but she suffereth no man to trust unto them with this ungodly opinion, that she should be justified by them ; because that were to deny the Lord, that bought us with his own precious blood.

Vows are wont to be taken with none other opinion, than that by them sins should be done away, and to deserve grace and remission of sins. Therefore spring they of the ignorance of Christ's religion, and they be plainly wicked, and therefore they be plainly nought and of no price. For even the schoolmen say, that those things be no vows, which do turn to the damage or hindrance of a man's salvation : seeing that a vow hath the same things following as an oath hath, that is, justice, judgment, and truth. To will and desire to be justified by works is to cast away the grace of Christ, and that is to lose the true health and salvation : therefore these vows that be so greatly boasted of, be no vows, and of no value. For this short argument of Paul fearful to all vowes shall stand : " If righteousness be of the law, then Christ died in vain." (Gal. v.) " Ye are gone quite from

Christ, as many as are justified by the law, and are fallen from grace." (Gal. ii.) "We know that man is not justified by the works of the law, but by the faith of Jesus Christ." If these things be said unto the Jews, the which presumed to be justified by the works of Moses' law, who can abide our ungodliness which look for those things by the works of our law, the which only Christ giveth in faith?

Therefore it repenteth us of our wretchless vow, and we desire forgiveness of God, for our sin done by our foolish vow, and we turn again to the liberty, which Christ's blood gat unto us with a sure belief. Defying the masters and teachers of works, the open enemies of Christ, we rather hear that saying of the Holy Ghost (Gal. v.), "Stand in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free, and wrap not yourselves again in the yoke of bondage."

As touching the places which they bring out of the Old Testament for the maintaining and establishing of vows, they make nothing for the purpose: for that manner of vowing pertained unto the Jews, and now is put away, as be sacrifices. (Acts, xv.) Faith in Christ maketh all outward things free: neither doth the bondage of vows and our liberty agree. What need many words? Our vows be without faith, and therefore they be sin. Now who would be afraid to leave and forsake sin?

OF COUNSELS.

The new Learning.

The Gospel is divided into counsels and commandments; we be bound to keep the commandments, and not to despise the counsels. The counsels be in the 5th of Matthew, to love our enemies, not to resist evil, not to strive in the court of law, to lend to every one that needeth, and such other like. The

which if they were commandments, they were too heavy burdens for the new law. Thus say the Pharisees,

The old Learning.

We have a counsel in the Gospel of living single. (Matt. xix. and 1 Cor. vii.) But those that be in the 5th of Matthew, they be no counsels, but precepts and commandments, the which thing is manifest by the circumstance of the text. For Christ doth threaten them, which he would not have done, if he had only counselled. He that doth threaten a pain, doth propound and set forth a law, and counselleth not.

Moreover, it is commanded, "Love thy neighbour as thyself." That love containeth in it those things, which we have spoken of. And lust is forbidden, and therefore be the aforesaid forbidden also. When Matthew had rehearsed those things, which the schoolmen reckon among counsels, he saith by and by after, "that ye may be the children of your Father which is in heaven." (Matt. v.) Likewise also St. Luke (after that he had reckoned up these laws) saith, "And ye shall be the sons of the Most Highest." Therefore they that do them not shall not be the children. Surely, a counsellor would not have spoken after this manner: yet thus did Chrysostom, Austin, and Hilary understand the words of Christ. Then if the Lord commanded all these things, why do we, that be servants, loose and break the laws of the Lord for our pleasure?

OF MATRIMONY.

The new Learning.

The fourth degree of kindred stoppeth matrimony. There be divers impediments of matrimony, which

hinder marriage to be made, and loose it, if it be contracted, namely, error, condition, vow, kindred, fault or crime, the diversity of worshipping, power, bond, honesty, or if thou be of affinity. These hinder marriage to be made, and if it be made, break it again. Certain things there be, which hinder marriage to be made, but they loose it not if it be contracted, that is, the time of not spousing, and the forbidding of the church; also, a spiritual kindred is gotten by the sacrament of baptism and confirmation or bishoping, the which letteth matrimony to be, and putteth asunder it that is made: also the order of sub-deacon, or deacon and priesthood, hinder matrimony to be taken, because that the vow of chastity is joined to those orders: also if there be a divorcement, both the man and the woman must remain unmarried.

The old Learning.

There be degrees of kin, or consanguinity and affinity, read to be forbidden in the 18th of Leviticus, namely, father, mother, stepmother, a natural sister, a lawful sister both of father and mother, cousin, aunt of the father's side and of the mother's side, the wife of mine uncle, the daughter-in-law, the wife of my brother, stepdaughter, the son of the stepson or stepdaughter, the sister of my wife, my wife being alive. Here is forbidden the first degree of affinity, and the second of kin or consanguinity; though the daughter or niece of my brother or sister is not reckoned to be forbidden: seeing that these be provided and taken heed of by the law of God, they must needs be honest; so that it were foolish hardness for a man to put his decrees to the word of God.

Those things that be spoken of the times that be

void of espousals, and of the forbidding of the church, they be man's inventions.

And the spiritual kindred hath no testimony in the Scripture: therefore if it doth shine or glister with never so fair and goodly a likeness, we may as easily despise it or receive it. Why doth not holy fraternity let marriage, by the which we are all knit together in Christ? They be my brethren and my sisters, as many as confess Christ.

That the Order is a let unto matrimony, it is nothing else but false speaking through hypocrisy. For if matrimony be a sacrament (as they say), I cannot see why holy Order cannot suffer the holiness of matrimony. "Marriage is honourable," as the Holy Ghost witnesseth. (Heb. xiii.) And they think that the holiness of matrimony is contrary to the holiness of Order, the which thing the Apostle never knew (1 Tim. iii. Tit. i.); where he would that a bishop should be the husband of one wife. And (2 Tim. iv.) he calleth it the learning of devils, if any man forbiddeth matrimony. (1 Cor. vii.) He saith not only, it is better to marry than to burn, but he commandeth openly in this manner: "for the avoiding of fornication, let every man have his wife." Who is that every man? Is it not manifest that marriage is free to all men which have not the gift of chastity?

St. Jerome sheweth a cause why, in the 9th of the Acts, Christ calleth St. Paul a chosen vessel, namely, because he was the storehouse of the law, and of the holy Scripture. And against Jovinian he saith, I will bring forth Paul the Apostle, whom as oft as I read, I think that I hear not words but thunders. But they which defend the filthy single living, despise the thundering of this chosen vessel, as the barking of a dog, and they think that he that is within Orders, sinneth deadly, if he marry a wife. And the

Father did ordain marriage, the Son did commend and honour it with his presence, and with his first miracle. The Holy Ghost pronounced it honourable. Paul, the servant of Jesus Christ, forbiddeth not bishops and deacons to be married: and they which boast them of the Gospel, number the marriage of the priests among deadly sins as a profane and unholy thing, the which holiness of Order cannot suffer. Why believe they not at the least the sentence of the holy fathers? For Theophylact, upon the 8th chapter of Matthew, saith, "Learn here that marriage hindereth not a man from virtue, for the prince of the Apostles had a mother-in-law."

Furthermore, we do allow no divorcement but in case of fornication, as Christ saith (Matt. xix.). Whereas it is lawful for the unguilty after divorcement to marry again, the which thing might be easily done if the man adulterer or the woman should be killed after the law of God. (Deut. xxiii.) Now they tarry both unmarried, the which is a divorcement rather in name and in word, than in deed. The text of Matthew xix. is manifest: ("Whosoever forsaketh his wife but only for fornication, and marieth another, he committeth adultery.") For this clause that is put between ("except it be for fornication") declareth and ruleth the whole sentence, that if any fornication do chance in the mean season, he that forsaketh the woman adulterer, and marieth another, he being unguilty, then he committeth none adultery.

And why do we not in such cases go rather to the Scripture, that is inspired of God, than to those writers of *Sims**? seeing that the Apostle in the second to Timothy, the third chapter, saith, that the Scripture is profitable for correction and teaching.

* Viz. *Sims of Divinity*. —ED.

OF CEREMONIES.

Men reckon that ceremonies have the name of a town in Tuscya, called Cerete, and by ceremonies we mean the worshipping of God but outwardly.

The new Learning.

The ceremonies which our fathers ordained, must be kept and not changed ; they are the worshipping of God. The religious men and rude priests do defend the ceremonies (whatsoever they be) so stiffly, as though holiness consisted and stood in them only. For we have seen in these times the holy orders contend and strive with unstaunchable hatred among themselves for ceremonies.

The old Learning.

We may not swerve neither to the right hand nor to the left hand ; but we must walk in the king's highway. Our life is in that case, that we cannot be without ceremonies : for we be not angelical spirits, but men ; and as long as we live in this visible world, in the prison of this body, we must needs have difference of works, of places, of offices, of times, of persons, and of other things. For we be (as the Apostle saith, Romans, xii.) many members and one body, and not having all one act or office. But, after that the light of the Gospel is come, and has followed the shadow of the law, we should use very few ceremonies ; as we have baptism and the supper of the Lord, after the ordinance of Christ in the New Testament. For we use (as we be always ready to the worst) to set much by ceremonies, and to conceive a vain opinion and confidence to be justified by them, if they be perfectly done : and if they leave them undone, we conceive a foolish fear, (that is) of every hand a naughty conscience.

Therefore lest we should swerve away from the prick of true holiness, let us take faith and charity unto us, as the rulers and guiders of ceremonies, in the which if they were done, they might be done godlily. Before all things we must take great heed and diligent provision, lest ceremonies hurt and destroy the head and the root of our religion, which is faith in Christ. Faith and belief in Christ is only our righteousness, which worketh afterward by charity, the which, if it continue in safeguard in the liberty of the spirit, ye may live and be occupied in the ceremonies of the church without any blame. For he that is justified by faith keepeth ceremonies, lest he should offend those that be yet weak in the faith, not as necessary to righteousness, but as a teaching and bringing up for weaklings, believing stedfastly, that all those outward things be free unto us through faith, and that we owe nothing to any body, but only love. (Rom. xiii.)

By this rule the Apostle, being conversant among his brethren, without the jeopardy and the loss of conscience and faith, was so free by the spirit of faith, that for all that he made himself an underling and a servant of all men, and was of all fashions, to save some at the least. He had knowledge, but he knew that knowledge did swell, and charity did edify. (1 Cor. viii. and ix.) He granteth that "all things be lawful unto him, but that all things be not profitable: that all things be lawful, but all things do not edify." And he did follow those things which belonged unto peace and to edifying.

We will follow this Apostle, not giving our liberty to the occasion of the flesh, but in serving one another by charity. (Gal. v.) Here must the overseers and ministers of the church be admonished, that they unlade the congregation, holden down with so many ceremonies and laws, that almost the condition and

state of the Jews were more tolerable, than the state of Christian men. Now is it not only foolishness, but also wickedness, that Christian men should strive among themselves for ceremonies (I cannot tell what), whose badge is charity, and not ceremonies. (John, xiii.)

OF MAN'S TRADITIONS.

The new Learning.

There is a canon or a rule, the which maketh equal the constitutions of popes and bishops with the Gospel; and it affirmeth, that the Gospel cannot be well upholden, except the statutes and ordinances of the fathers be kept: as Leo the IVth saith, in the 20th distinction of the chapter *De Libellis*, "All things that be necessary to be known to our salvation, be not expressed in the canonical Scripture, but the Holy Ghost, after that the Scripture was written, did shew many wholesome things unto our forefathers." (John, xvi.) "I have many things to say unto you, which ye cannot bear at this time." And those things that were in practice then, are not now all written, but even given from one to another, as by hand, and are come even to our time: as Damascene, in a Sermon of the Dead, writeth, "That the memory of faithful dead men came unto us from the Apostles' time." Moreover, Paul taught the people (that he purchased unto Christ, when he was with them) many things, the which were never written. Also, "He that heareth not the church, let him be counted as an heathen and a publican:" therefore she may make laws and constitutions necessary for man's salvation.

Also, that is necessary to salvation, whose transgression is deadly sin; but the ordinances of the church be such. The first is proved by Abbas, in

the proem or preface of the Decretals ; and in the first chapter of Constitutions, he allegeth Calderine, Andreas, and Thomas Aquinas, and for this purpose maketh the text in the chapter *Quo Jure* the 8th distinction, where it is written, that “ the breaker of the traditions of the church sinneth deadly,” because that also the positive law bindeth in matters of conscience, therefore they bind. Hereupon John Mayre, with great pride and disdain, saith in the fourth distinction, the third chapter, “ To think that he that breaketh the commandments of the church sinneth not deadly, is an error.”

The old Learning.

Matthew, the 17th chapter, The heavenly Father maketh his only begotten Son doctor and teacher of the church, saying, “ Hear him ;” and he put his words in his mouth. (Deut. xviii.) He saith, “ And I will be a revenger and a punisher of them which refuse the learning of this doctrine.” He which saith (John, vii.), “ My doctrine is not mine, but His that sent me :” that Doctor is the everlasting wisdom of the Father, the way, the light, the truth, whom we believe stedfastly, that he both would and did give unto his church, not botched, clotted, or imperfect, and unstable learning, but sound, perfect and unchangeable, to the which needeth nothing be put as an addition : for those things that are necessary for to be known for man’s salvation, be contained plenteously in the canonical Scripture.

Sometimes the Apostles spake and treated upon the kingdom of God more plenteously in speaking than it is written in books ; yet for all that, as for the sum of the sentence and doctrine, they preached none other things than the Gospel, which we have written ; so that those things that pertain to a Christian man’s life, must be learned of no where else but of the

Bible ; that is, of the New Testament and the Old. For all Scripture, given by the inspiration of God (saith the Apostle, 2 Tim. iii.), is profitable to teaching, to improve, to inform, and to instruct in righteousness, that the man of God may be perfect, and prepared to all good works.

Then why do we thrust into the church's hands the laws of men as necessary to Christ's religion ? I do not speak here of the civil law. I know that the laws of secular power are to be kept for the conscience sake ; for they have their strength of God's law. (Rom. xiii.) I speak of the decrees of men, with the which they would bind men's consciences. Furthermore, the Apostle (2 Tim. iii.) praiseth the holy Scripture with a great verdict and praise, saying, " The holy Scripture may make thee wise unto health through faith, which is in Christ Jesus." Who dare set this title before his constitutions, that " they may make you learned to salvation ?" This honour is only due to the holy Scripture of God.

Furthermore, if there were any thing shewed our fathers a thousand years ago by the Holy Ghost, the which were not known (in the time of the flowering of the church that newly did spring up) to the Apostles and to the church, they be either necessary to salvation, or not necessary. If they be not necessary, but ordained for a time, why is a man's conscience beset with them ? If they be necessary, either there is another way of salvation now, than was in the primitive church, or else they were all damned that departed before that revelation, for they knew not the thing that was good and necessary to their salvation. The which things, seeing that they be the most vain that can be, and foolish, and that the same manner of justifying and salvation is now that was then, and was then that is now : why make we those things necessary, that be not necessary ? and why set we

so little by the liberty of the Gospel, that we had as lief have our dreams, as the most holy Gospel?

We do not reject and refuse the constitutions and ordinances of bishops, which vex not the conscience, but pertain and be profitable to the common peace and tranquillity of men's conversation only. We defy and reject those laws, in the which either they command or forbid, under pain of deadly sin, without the law of God. Only God ought to reign in the conscience, in whose hands peculiarly be men's souls. The Apostle calleth him the adversary of God, which goeth about to sit in the temple of God, and boast himself as God. (2 Thess. ii. and 2 Cor. iii.) We be the ministers of the New Testament, ministers of the Spirit, and not of the letter. What avail man's constitutions to justification?

If ye say that they prepare to obey God the easier, I answer, there is nothing that can prepare the mind to keep the law of God, or fashion it, but only the grace of God. The Apostle (Gal. i.) pronounceth accursed, not only man, but also an angel of heaven, that durst preach another Gospel than Paul preached. If it be the power of God to the salvation of all that believe, why do we mingle and join our chaff with so great a power? And in the first to the Corinthians, the third chapter, "Other foundation cannot man lay than that which is laid, which is Jesus Christ." If no man ought to put any thing to Moses' law (Deut. xii.), why should we add and put unto the Gospel any thing? seeing even Camaracensis, a schoolman, calleth it the most perfect law and rightest, and the straitest in precepts. Why do we not leave our laws, and follow the business that Christ appointed? (Matt. xxviii.) "Teach all people to keep all things whatsoever I have commanded you." We be ministers and servants of Christ, and disposers of the secrets of God.

Now it is required of the stewards or disposers, that they be found faithful. These privities and mysteries by the articles of our faith of the Gospel, the wisdom of the cross, the knowledge of grace gotten by Christ—let us preach these things for the health of the people of God, and let us not abuse our power, the which the Lord gave us to edify with, and not to destroy. (1 Cor. xiii.) The canon or rule that maketh the ordinances of fathers equal with the Gospel, is openly ungodly and wicked, the which even our adversaries cannot receive, if they knew the canon of the Scripture.

To be short: the faith wherewith a righteous man liveth is conceived, taken, and drawn out of the canonical Scripture, and not of the decrees of the fathers, as St. Austin witnesseth in the ninth book of the City of God, the 18th chapter. Then wherefore should I receive, as an article of my faith, that which the Scripture inspired of God hath not? I am commanded to prove and try the spirits whether they be of God or no; the which liberty of judging all doctrines by the Scriptures no man will take from us. The words of St. John, in the 16th chapter, establish nothing man's traditions; for God did fulfil his promise at Whitsunday, when he sent the Holy Ghost, and led his disciples unto all truth, which before that time they could not hear.

Who will deny that the memory and remembrance of those that be departed, did come from the Apostles unto us; seeing that St. Paul, in the first to the Thessalonians, the fourth chapter, saith, that one should comfort another with the word of the resurrection of the dead in Christ? But now that we may answer to their rhetorical argument, wherein they reason, that by the breaking of the ordinance of the church a man sinneth deadly, we answer, that the knowledge of sin is by the law. (Rom. iii.)

The Apostle speaketh of God's law, and not of man's. And I, moved by the Scripture, think that a man's conscience neither ought nor can be bound with man's construction ; for we are endowed with a liberty, which we will use, the which liberty is the liberty of the conscience. (1 Cor. iii.) All things be yours, whether it be Paul, or Apollos, or Cephas ; whereby we understand that neither Paul nor Apollos hath authority to bind men's consciences, where God doth not bind. The 1st to the Corinthians, the 12th chapter, " Be ye not made servants of men." (Col. ii.) " You being dead with Christ, why be you holden still with decrees ?"

And for the most part such constitutions be contrary to the word and deed of the Apostles. But as Gerson beareth witness, in the second section of the *Spiritual Life*, the seventh corollary, it is not in the Pope's power, neither in the councils' power, nor in the church's power, to change the learning given and taught by the Evangelists and of Paul. Mr. Jasper Satager did see this in the *Defension of the Constitutions of the Church*, the which openly and plainly granteth that the learning that is without the Scripture, though it be good, yet it bindeth not by God's law. And it is no marvel ; for only Christ ought to reign in man's conscience by his word, which only may save and condemn. (Matt. x.) Fear not them that can kill the body and not the soul, but fear Him that can cast both body and soul into everlasting fire.

Truly if they can make a constitution, and command it under pain of deadly sin, they may kill the soul : but the truth of the Gospel is otherwise. The sentence of Ezekiel is pronounced against them in the 13th chapter : Wo be to them that make bolsters under the head of every age, to catch souls, that they might kill souls, which die not ! How doth

the schoolmen's learning of the power of binding of men's constitutions agree with itself? seeing Thomas granteth plainly, that the commandments of the positive law bind more with the intent of the law-maker, than with the words of it; so that he is more to be reckoned a breaker of the commandment that doeth against the intent of the law-maker, than he that swerveth from the letter of the ordinance of the law. But the intent of the maker of the positive law is not, that his precept should be always kept, because that many impediments may chance, in the which it is not expedient to keep that law, yea sometimes the keeping of the precept were damnable. Wherefore in every precept of the positive law, the exception of a reasonable cause is admitted.

Now put the case, that there is a law that a man shall not eat flesh on the Friday, and that a priest shall not have a wife: here the intent of the law-maker is to bring to goodness. But it chanceth if we keep those laws, that either the liberty of a Christian man be in jeopardy, or we offend against God's law. In this case the positive law bindeth not, for the intent of the law-maker is not to kill any man, or to give any occasion to break God's law: but seeing that it cannot be satisfied and fulfilled, doubtless it remitteth and looseth those things that it did decree. And if there chance any reasonable cause of breaking such a tradition, it will pronounce the transgressor absolved and clear, and not rash. But what more reasonable cause is there, than avoiding of deadly sin, or the jeopardy of conscience? Paul was content so to chastise his flesh, that he would never eat flesh, rather than to offend his brother.

OF COUNCILS AND LAWS MADE BY A MULTITUDE
OF BISHOPS GATHERED TOGETHER.

The new Learning.

If the authority of councils be despised, all things in the church shall be doubtful and uncertain, for the heresies that were once condemned in the councils shall come again. Therefore it is not lawful unto a private man to affirm or teach any thing against the councils. For the council is gathered together in the name of Christ, it is ruled by the Holy Ghost, and therefore it erreth not; so that the constitutions of the council are the constitutions of the catholic church, whom the council doth represent. But those things that the church ordaineth, are as well to be observed and kept, as the canonical Scripture. Neither is it needful for the council to add or put testimonies of Scripture to its determinations, seeing that the Apostles and the elders did not establish the first council holden at Jerusalem with Scriptures, Acts, xv.

The old Learning.

John, in the fourth chapter of his first Epistle, biddeth to prove spirits whether they be of God or no: therefore is it lawful for Christian men to judge the spirit of councils; for they say that the Holy Ghost is author of the council. What rule shall we have, I pray you, to prove and try spirits beside the word of God? This, seeing that it is sure, true, seven times purged, and a candle in a dark place, shall be a touchstone to prove and to try all learning of men by. If the Holy Ghost doth rule the councils, and the same Spirit of truth taught the Apostles every truth; and if the Apostles did preach that, and gave it unto us, it followeth that the constitutions and the councils must agree with the learning of Christ and the

Apostles, that is, with the holy Scripture : for the Spirit of God differeth not from himself : he is simple, and his learning is simple. But seeing that it is openly known that the councils have decrees contrary to holy Scripture, and also to the Holy Ghost, who will forbid us to doubt upon such constitutions of councils ?

The Apostle's learning wills, that a bishop should be the husband of one wife. There is a council that forbiddeth bishops the use of holy matrimony : what authority is here ? The doctrine of Paul is the Gospel and the law of God, the which ought not to be changed ; seeing that it doth threaten death and cursing even to angelical spirits, if they durst bring any other Gospel. But now if they ordain and determine those things which be contrary to the Scripture, who will deny but they may err ? I have not said this to despise the councils that be councils indeed, but we set God above the council. For we grant according to the promise of our Saviour, that Christ is present in that congregation, which is gathered in the name of Christ, but we grant no man power and authority to decree and ordain any thing in the church of God against the Scriptures. We receive no man that cometh in his own name (John, v.), and that speaketh not of the Father, but of his own self. Beside this, the Scripture giveth no greater power to a general council than to two or three gathered in the name of the Lord, the which congregation hath authority to excommunicate him that rebelleth, and is stubborn, and an open sinner ; but it hath no authority to make precepts, and to thrust them into men's consciences that be free.

Furthermore, the Scripture hath prophesied that false doctors should come in the latter days, in the name of Christ, the which shall deceive many men, saying, " I am Christ." The which most earnest

warning of our Saviour, not without a cause, maketh us more wary and circumspect, that we should not believe every spirit. Indeed these be goodly and glorious names: "the church," "the council gathered in the name of Christ:" but Christ and the Apostles have warned us, that those things alone should not move us: they did describe these latter days with so horrible colours, that it is wonder men cannot perceive these things. Cyprian, in a certain council where were eighty-six bishops sitting, taught wrong of the baptizing of heretics; and for the most part all the bishops of Africa, Numidia, and Mauritania, erred with him. If it be so, that the councils err about the sacraments of the church, who can safely without jeopardy from henceforth believe the councils, making laws without Scripture?

Moreover, the same things may chance (we do not doubt) to great and general councils, that have chanced unto the particular and provincial councils: and surely I think and hold that then all things shall be more doubtful and uncertain, when the authority of the word doth fail, the which ought to be sound and undefiled. For the church gave not authority to the word, but the word gave authority to the church. And when the congregation believeth the Gospel, it is safe; and the heresies which in times past were banished away and quenched, they were quenched with the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God. Truly, heresy is plucked up by the root, none other way, than with the word of God and wholesome learning. Therefore the Apostle wills, that a bishop should be fenced and harnessed with wholesome learning, that he may overcome them that resist and fight against him. Put the case, that the council did ordain any thing without Scripture; by and by will Gerson, and learned and honest men with him, say, We must believe more the saying of

one man fenced with the authority of canonical Scripture, than the declaration of the Pope or the general council.

I pass over here the manifest saying of Innocentius, *in cap. cum venerab. de excep.* that is to wit, that no proof is to be admitted against the Scripture, but all things should be holden without doubt. Hereupon it followeth, that it is not lawful for the council to charge the congregation with any thing without the consent of the Scripture. And the council of Jerusalem decreed nothing without Scripture, boasting and advancing the Holy Ghost only. For beside the word of Amos, the 9th chapter, all other things had strength of the Scripture, and not only of the will of many. For the Apostles and Seniors commanded that the people should abstain from those things that were offered up to idols, from blood, from things strangled, and fornication. The chief and the sum of this matter was, that a man should be justified not by the works of the law, but by grace, the which righteousness of faith, long time ago, was approved with the witness of the law and the Prophets. (Rom. iii.)

Furthermore, if the Apostles did sufficiently teach, by the authority of the Holy Ghost, that manner of justifying an unrighteous man, why did they that came after devise and imagine other ways of justifying? For those things that they called necessary, were not necessary for righteousness, but for charity; for the occasions of the falling of the weaklings were to be avoided.

To be short : that which the Apostles determined, they might uphold and prove by Scripture. As concerning it that was offered unto idols, it is plain enough ; for they had it in Deuteronomy, that the brother should not be hurt nor despised. Our brother is despised, if we give him an occasion of fall-

ing. They did know it was lawful to eat all meats that were to be sold in the shambles, and that to the clean all things are clean and all things are lawful, but all things are not expedient or necessary, and that there was nothing of itself common or unclean; but they would not that their brother should be offended, for whom Christ died.

Furthermore (Exod. xxxiv.), it is clearly commanded the Jews, that they should not eat of the things that are offered up; the which observation and keeping (seeing that the law stuck so stiffly as yet in the Jews' hearts) without offending could not hastily be taken away, and be contemned. (Gen. ix.) The eating of blood is forbidden. (Levit. vii. xvii. and xix.) The Lord commanded to abstain from things strangled. (Exod. xxii. and Levit. xxii.) Whoredom and fornication are forbidden. (Deut. v. and xxiii.) The council held at Jerusalem might have been strengthened and established with these places of Scripture, the which made the Jews that they could not yet enjoy the liberty of Christ with a whole and a sound conscience. Wherefore the law of charity commanded, that the offending of our brethren should be avoided.

Let our councils defend their constitutions with Scriptures, or let them command those things that be grounded upon the Scripture. Let them have a respect to the avoiding of offences. Let them lay nothing upon men's necks, but those that are necessary, after the same way that they were necessary which were ordained of the Apostles at that season, and no man shall withstand them.

Therefore, brethren, I beseech you, for the mercy of God (for here we do not treat of frail things, but of soul-health), take heed and look upon the thing that in all points is the greatest of all other, set all affections and troubling of your minds aside, and weigh

the matter truly and sincerely. "Let no man seek those things that be his, but those that be Jesus Christ's." Let no man rate, snatch, and speak against his brother. I have a conscience also. I think worshipfully by the fathers and the councils. I do not despise the prophecies or the interpretations of Scripture; but before all other things I love and regard holy Scripture, as the only treasure of the congregation. The Scripture is of greater authority (saith St. Austin) than all the capacity of man's wit: if it had been sufficient to us to have holy men, excelling both in wit and in learning, to rule the church or congregation, what needed it to ordain the canon of Scripture? If they only make decrees of outward things, in the which we have liberty, why do some charge men's consciences with these things, and so lade them that they command and beat in as diligently, yea, a great deal more diligently, men's laws than the most holy law of God?

As for myself, wittingly and with my will I deceive no man, I will affirm nor hold nothing which is disagreeing to the word of God and the catholic congregation. So earnestly move I to the word of God, that yet I would not the occasion of falling should be given, the which especially doth spring (as this time is) of the traditions of men. And I do not study for all that, that I might utterly destroy ceremonies, and the statutes of the fathers; but I do give warning, as it was my duty, that there is great difference between the keeping of ceremonies and man's traditions, and the righteousness of God: and that there is a certain righteousness, which must be earnestly looked upon, that we may know after what fashion men's consciences should be established and made strong against the gates of hell: and in what things true penance and amending of our living doth stand. . In the mean season, for the keeping of peace

and charity, I move and exhort to keep the ceremonies and traditions of the church and the fathers, where they hinder not the study of true holiness, or have no blame or fault. Only I move that we should not think, that all the strength of holiness did stand in the despising or keeping of ceremonies.

If any man will confute what we have written without the bitterness of envy, let him handle the matter, as it were, with his brother, and not with his enemy; for we be ready to confute without stubbornness, and to be confuted without any anger or stomach at all. If that I be thought to any man more hasty and stirred than the ministry and service of the word can bear, let him not be angry with me, but with them which overcome me with their devilish and ungodly overseeing and winking at abuses and errors. They grant plainly, that there be marvellous great abuses in the church: but they amend them not, although they have been so oft warned of them both in season and out of season, the which they know well enough to be the seed of discord, pestilence, and destruction of true holiness. But let us leave alone this kind of men, which be not fervent in the spirit, and would to God that they said not with the unwise man in their heart, "There is no God." (Psal. xiii.)

Well-beloved brother, I have drawn out this gear after a rude fashion, not gathering together all things that might have been spoken (as it doth appear) for this matter; but out of a great heap I took a few things here and there; but I will treat upon these matters in our common places more at large. The grace of Christ be with thee. Amen.

The End of the old Learning and new.

TO THE CHRISTIAN READER.

THAT thou mayest the better understand (good reader) the articles of Free Will, Faith, Good Works, and of Merits, which in this present book be treated upon, I shall here briefly shew what God doth, and hath done for us, and what we again ought to do for his sake, as they that be thankful for the benefits received of him. And first will I declare the manner of justification, remission of sins, and salvation, which in Scripture are all one thing, of whom it doth come, and to how many things it is applied.

First, it is applied unto God, for Paul saith (Rom. viii.), “It is God that justifieth,” or maketh righteous, &c. and (Rom. iii.) “that he only might be righteous, and the righteous-maker of him which is of the faith of Jesus.”

Secondly, it is referred unto Christ. (Acts, iv.) Saith Peter, “There is none other name given unto men under heaven in the which we should be saved.” (Rom. iii.) Saith Paul, “Without deserving are they made righteous or justified, even by his grace, through the redemption that is done by Christ Jesus, whom God hath set forth for a mercy-seat through faith in his blood to shew the righteousness that availeth before him, &c.”

Thirdly, it is applied unto mercy. (Tit. iii.) “Not of works or deeds of righteousness which we wrought, but after his mercy he saved us.” (Rom. vii.) “Therefore when God would shew wrath, and to make his power known, he brought forth with great patience the vessels of wrath which are ordained to damnation, that he might declare the riches of his glory on the vessels of mercy which he hath prepared unto glory, whom he hath called, &c.” (1 Pet. i.) “Blessed be God, the Father of our Lord Jesus

Christ, which according to his great mercy hath begotten us again to a lively hope."

Fourthly, it is attributed unto his election. (Eph. i.) "According as he hath chosen us by him, or ever the foundation of the world was laid, that we should be holy and without blame before him in love." (John, xv.) "I have chosen you and ordained you, that ye go and bring forth the fruit." (2 Tim. i.) "God hath saved us, and called us with an holy calling, not according to our deeds, but according to his own promise and grace."

Fifthly, it is attributed unto grace. (Eph. ii.) "By grace are ye saved through faith, and that not of yourselves." (Gal. i.) "I marvel that ye are so soon turned from Him that hath called you in the grace of Christ." (Tit. ii.) "The grace of God that bringeth salvation unto all men hath appeared."

Sixthly, it is assigned unto the word (John, xv.): "Now are ye clean, because of the word which I have spoken unto you." (Isa. lv.) "Like as the rain and snow cometh down from heaven, and returneth not thither again, but watereth the earth, maketh it fruitful and green, that it may give corn and bread unto the sower: so the word also that cometh out of my mouth, shall not return again void unto me, but shall accomplish my will, and prosper in the thing whereunto I shall send it."

Seventhly, it is ascribed unto faith, as (Rom. iii.), "I speak of the righteousness before God, which cometh by faith in Jesus Christ." And (Rom. iv.) "Unto him that believeth on Him that justifieth the ungodly, is faith counted for righteousness." (Rom. v.) "Because that we are justified by faith, we have peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ."

Eighthly, it is attributed unto good works, as, (Jam. i.) "Ye see then, how that of deeds a man is

justified, and not of faith." These places are so manifest (notwithstanding the common opinion, that faith only justifieth), that I am sure it troubleth no small number of people, and peradventure it may astonish even them which count themselves well learned. For it is a great thing to bring the old and wily fox to a leash. Yea, it is even a new thing unto the proud Pharisees to say that good works are not meritorious to obtain heaven by; for hitherto have they founded and underpropped their church with nothing so greatly as with this opinion. What hath abused fasting more than thereby to obtain heaven? For fasting after their own choosing, they left the true fast, that God requireth and commandeth. (Isa. lviii. Zech. vii.)

What caused more abuse of the supper of the Lord, than to use it, that is, the remembrance of the benefit and sacrifice for our sins, for a net and hook to gather and catch money with? saying, This is a work meritorious, and a sacrifice for redeeming of sins.

Sometime were none chosen priests, but such as were endowed with such gifts as Paul requireth in a bishop: now that the bishop of Rome's kingdom requireth many favourers and adherents, and that purgatory may be swept and kept clean, the which is no office for such lords as bishops be, therefore Sir John Lacklatin shall suffice for that office well enough, and mass shall be made a sacrifice to purge and cleanse pilgratory, purgatory I should have said.

Lord, Lord, open once our eyes, that we may see the blasphemy done to thy holy blood.

Now will I go to your consciences, ye that boast so greatly of good and meritorious works. I require you, by the answer that we shall give at the great day, did Peter, that was prince of the Apostles (as ye say), ever say mass for the dead, either himself, or

by others? Shew hereupon any authentic chronicle, or his own writing: if ye cannot, then grant that it is an invention of your own, ergo, a lie, and a thing that shall perish with your days. If God's mercy should be bound to send souls to your purgatory, and at your massing again to release them, then were Christ no Jesus, and God no father, but a servant of yours, and contrary to his own words and doctrine.

Leave therefore your new and erroneous doctrine, and with the old teachers humbly give God the glory. What caused more the abuse of honouring of saints? who dying in charity, are joined with us in charity, and therefore as true members of one body cease not to pray with us, so that worshipping their images and pictures, we rather blaspheme God which hath forbidden such manner of worshipping, than worship them. But lest I be too tedious unto thee (good reader), therefore will I do my diligence to express the faith of all this matter in few words.

God the Father, through the love that he had to his Son, Christ Jesus, did cast his mercy unto us, which were sunken into the depth of sin, and pitied us, and of his mercy and pity he chose us that we should be holy, and without spot in his sight. And to them that he chose, he instilled the grace of his Spirit, and sent them the word of health, which they received through believing it: and then come they to the feeling of the goodness of God, and of very love are ready to fulfil whatsoever God commandeth them; and look, how much they believe, even so much they work.

And though it be true, that we be justified in Christ, before the foundations of the world were laid, yet is that only known to God, and we have no feeling of it until faith come. And even as God cometh downwards (for he through Christ had mercy on us, and of mercy did choose us before we were, and then

after we come into this world, instilleth grace through his Spirit, and then sendeth us his word, which the Spirit causeth us to believe, and worketh faith in us, from whence all good works flow) ; even so do we go upwards, and by my faith do know surely that God hath sent me his word and grace, through his Spirit, to cause me to believe it ; and therefore conclude that he hath chosen me, and hath mercy unto me, through Christ his only Son, which is the image of the invisible God, first begotten before all creatures.

Now it is my duty again, when I have and perceive this goodness of God the Father, and his Son Jesus Christ to me-ward, that I stand not still and let his grace be vacant and idle in me: but, according to the Spirit that he hath poured in me and the grace that is given me, to use his gifts according to his will and commandment, to proceed from virtue to virtue, as from step to step, always approaching our loving Father's kingdom nearer and nearer, where he sitteth and reigneth world without end. To the which bring us, He that will all mankind to be saved. Amen.

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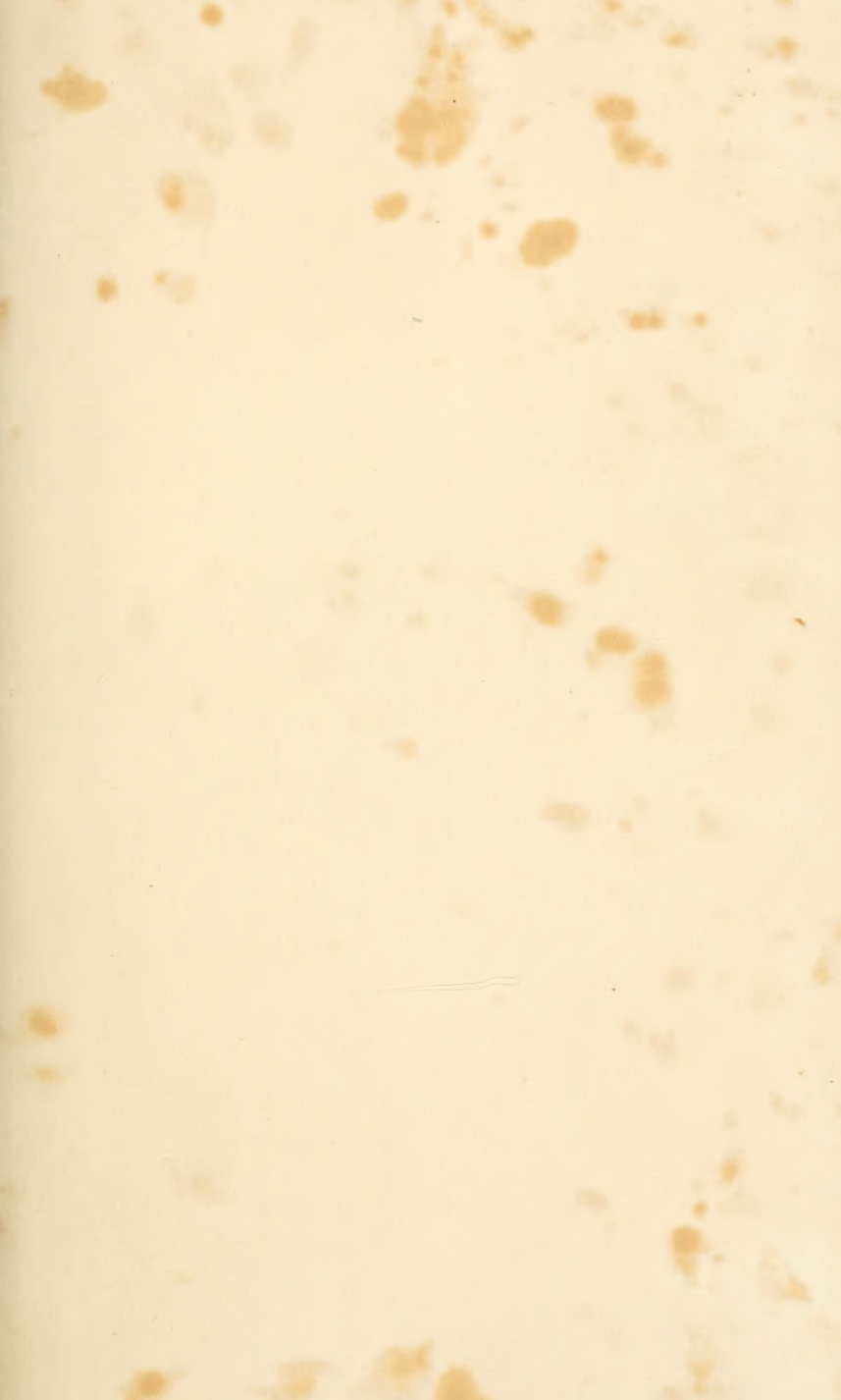
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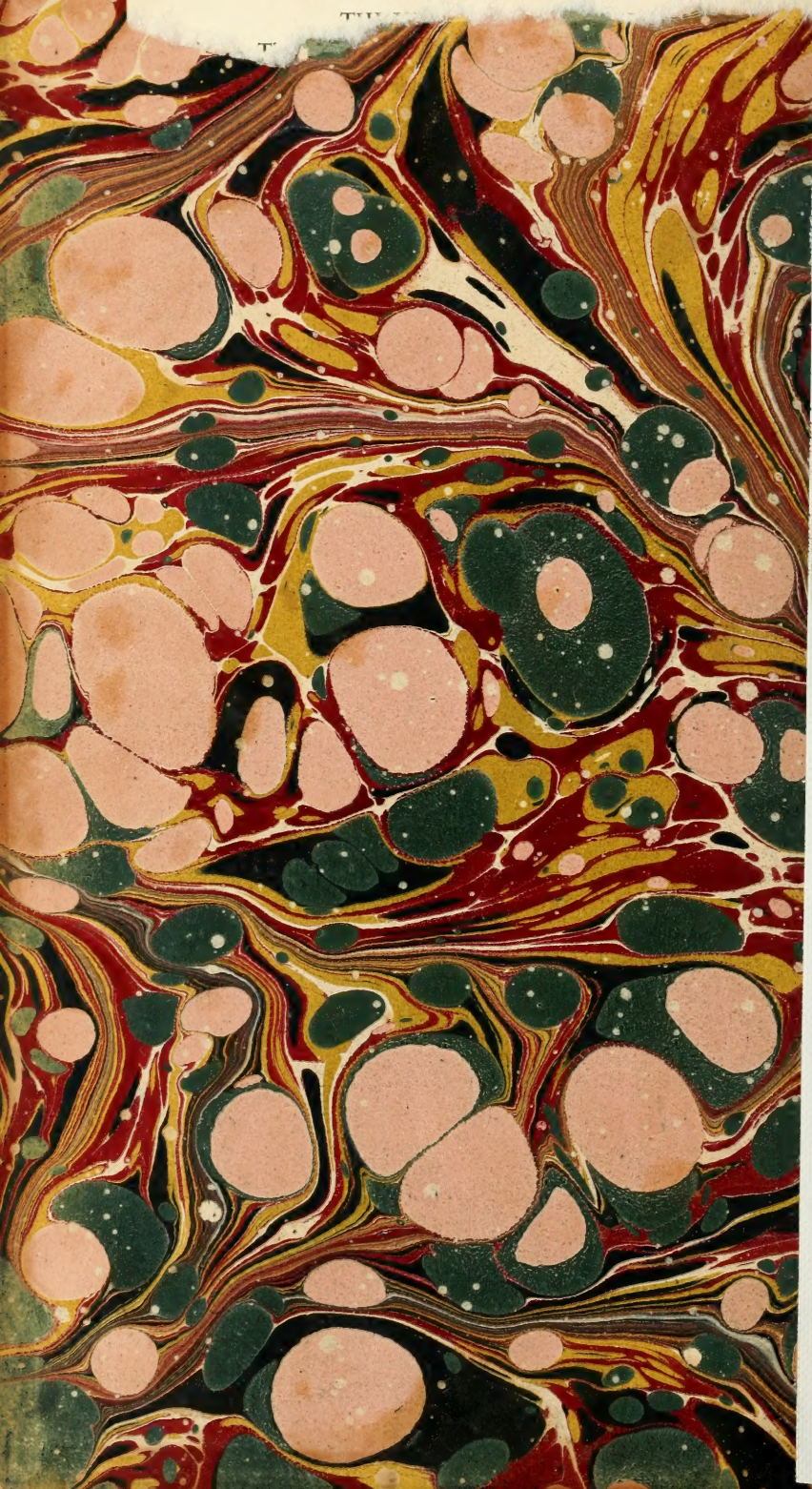
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